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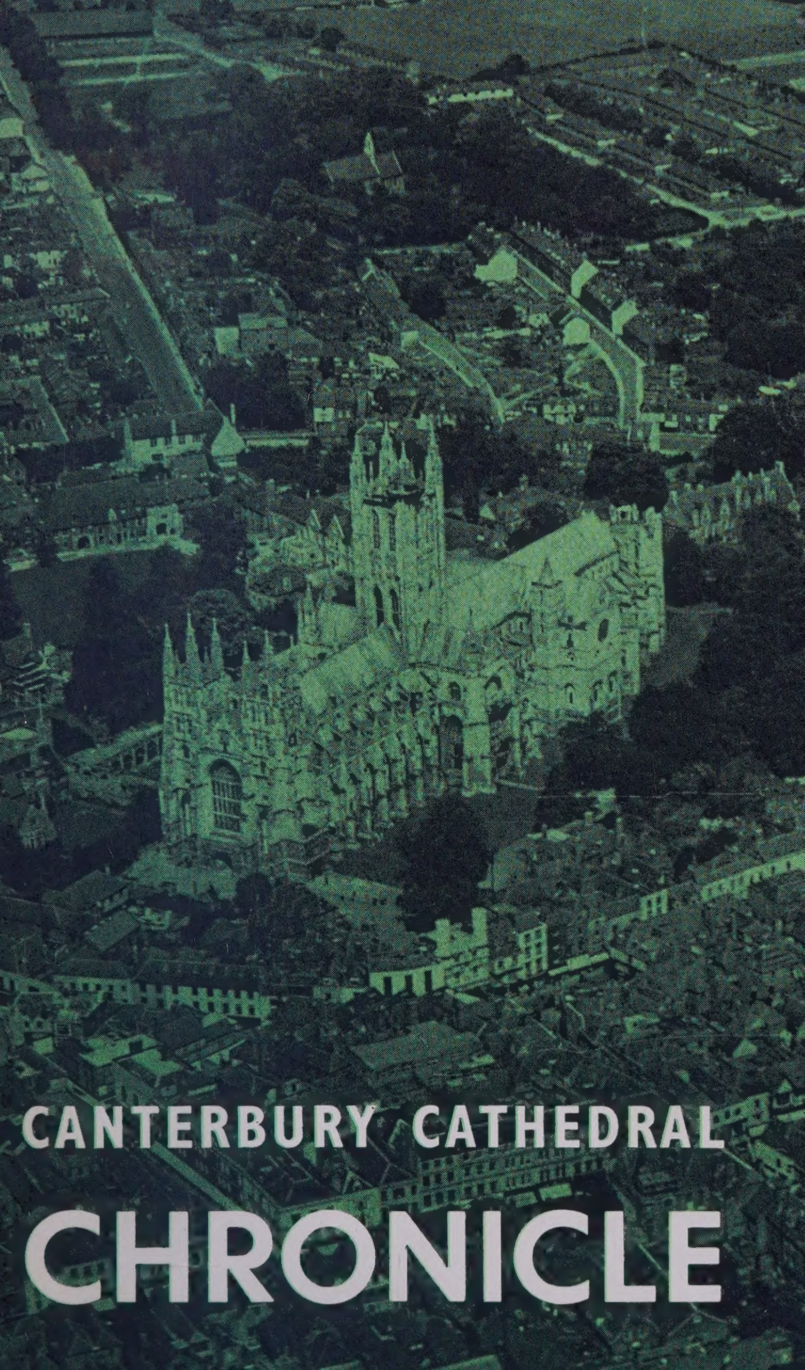

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL
CHRONICLE

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THE CANTERBURY CHRONICLE

1966

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CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CHRIST, CANTERBURY
SERVICES AND SPECIAL EVENTS, 1966-67

1966

Oct. 19. Lecture by the Bishop of Coventry, entitled "The Changing Church": the first of four lectures in the Nave of the Cathedral at 8 p.m. on Wednesdays, under the general title "Christ Relevant Today".

22. Companions of the Society of St. Francis attend Evensong at 3.15 p.m.

23. Annual Service for Doctors and Nurses at 3 p.m. in the Quire.

25. Sung Eucharist at 11 a.m. in the Undercroft attended by the Greater Chapter.

26. Lecture by Canon S. H. Evans, Dean of King's College, London, entitled "The Man for Others", at 8 p.m. in the Nave.

28. Sung Eucharist at 10.15 a.m. for St. Simon and St. Jude's Day.

29. Opening Service of the Diocesan Conference at 10.30 a.m.

Nov. 1. Sung Eucharist at 10.15 a.m. for All Saints' Day.

2. Lecture by the Archbishop, entitled "The Living Lord" at 8 p.m. in the Nave.

6. The Right Reverend Dr. Donald Marsh, Bishop of the Arctic, preaches at 6.30 p.m.

9. Lecture by the Dean of Westminster Abbey, entitled "The Life in Christ" at 8 p.m. in the Nave.

12. Recital of Music in the Quire at 7 p.m.

13. Remembrance Service and Matins at 10.50 a.m. in the Nave. The Litany is sung at Evensong at 3 p.m.

15. A School of Prayer conducted by the Dean at 8 p.m. in the Undercroft.

18. Recital by the Berlin Boys' Choir at 6 p.m. in the Quire.

19. Quiet Afternoon for Sunday School Teachers from 2.15 p.m. to 4 p.m. in the Eastern Crypt.

Evensong sung by the King's School Madrigal Society at 5 p.m. in the Undercroft, and attended by the Kent County Organists' Association.

Recital of Music by the Canterbury Singers in the Quire at 7 p.m.

Nov. 22. Sung Eucharist at 11 a.m. in the Undercroft for the end-of-season gathering of Honorary Chaplains, followed by a meeting in the Library and lunch in the Chaucer Hotel.

26. Recital of Music by the Choir of Christ Church College in the Quire at 7 p.m.

27. Carol Service for Advent at 6.30 p.m.

30. Sung Eucharist at 10.15 a.m. for St. Andrew's Day.

Dec. 3. Confirmation by the Archbishop at 11 a.m. in the Quire.

10. Wolf Cubs' Gift Service at 4 p.m. in the Undercroft.
Canterbury Choral Society performance of *The Childhood of Christ* by Berlioz, at 7.15 p.m. in the Nave.

11. The Reverend H. E. Root, Professor of Divinity in the University of Southampton, preaches at Matins at 11 a.m. The Litany is sung at Evensong.

18. Ordination by the Archbishop at 10.30 a.m. in the Nave.
Evensong at 3.30 p.m.

19. King's School Carol Service at 5 p.m. in the Quire.
Evensong said at 5.30 p.m. in the Undercroft.

20. Simon Langton Boys' School Carol Service at 1.45 p.m. in the Quire.
King's School Term ends. Choir School Term ends.

21. Sung Eucharist at 10.15 a.m. for St. Thomas's Day.

24. First Evensong of Christmas at 3.15 p.m. in the Quire.
Blessing of the Crib at 4.15 p.m. in the Undercroft.

25. Holy Communion at the High Altar at 7 a.m. and 8 a.m.
Matins at 10.30 a.m. in the Nave: sermon by the Archbishop.
Sung Eucharist at 11.45 a.m. in the Quire.
Evensong at 3.30 p.m.

28. Holy Communion at 11 a.m. in the Lady Chapel by the Martyrdom.
Wedding of the Reverend F. S. Telfer, Six Preacher, and Miss J. Lee, at 12 noon in the Undercroft with Holy Communion.
Carol Service for the Insurance Institute for Canterbury and East Kent at 6.30 p.m. in the Undercroft.

29. Sung Eucharist at 10.15 a.m. for St. Thomas Becket's Day.
Evensong and Procession to the Martyrdom at 5.30 p.m.

Dec. 30. The Boy Choristers are on holiday. Services sung by Men's Voices.

31. Rural Deanery Carol Service at 3 p.m. in the Nave. Evensong said.

1967

Jan. 1. Matins and Evensong sung by Men's Voices.
Christmas Carol Service at 6.30 p.m.

2. The Lay Clerks on holiday until January 14th.
Services sung by Boys' Voices from January 2nd to 8th.
Services said from January 9th to 13th.

6. Sung Eucharist at 10.15 a.m. for the Feast of the Epiphany.

8. Epiphany Carol Service at 6.30 p.m.

14. Wedding in the Undercroft of Mr. J. Man and Miss A. Strange.

16 and 17 } Voice Trials in the Choir School.

19. Choir School Term starts.

20. King's School Term starts.

25. Sung Eucharist at 10.15 a.m. for the Conversion of St. Paul.

31. A School of Prayer conducted by the Dean at 8 p.m. in the Undercroft.

Feb. 2. Sung Eucharist at 10.15 a.m. for the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

8. *Ash Wednesday.*
8 a.m., Holy Communion at the High Altar.
9.30 a.m., Matins and Commination Service sung by Boys' Voices.
11 a.m., Holy Communion in the Undercroft.
5.30 p.m., Evensong and Litany sung in procession.

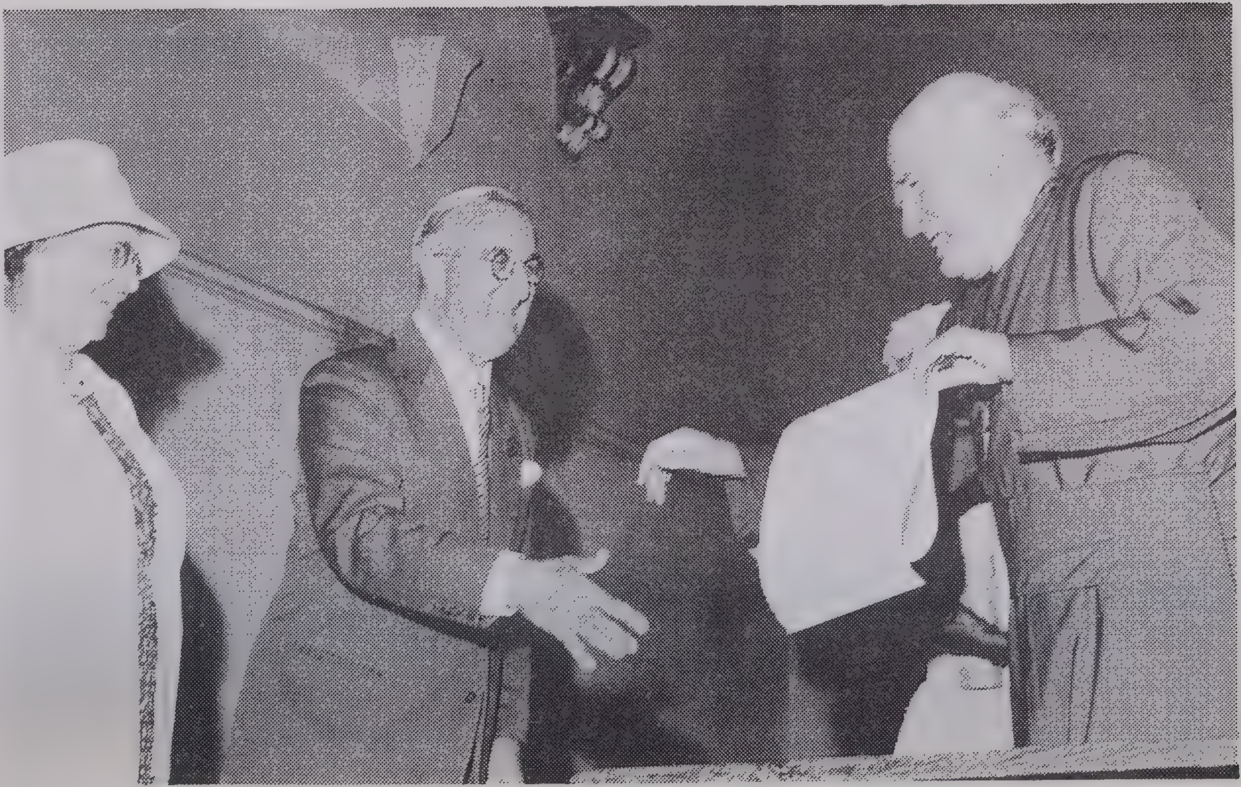
16. First of five talks by Canon H. M. Waddams on the Thursdays of Lent entitled "The Life of the Spirit—Prayer and Action" at 7.45 p.m. in the Undercroft.

23. Second of the above series.

24. Sung Eucharist at 10.15 a.m. for St. Matthias's Day.

Photo: Entwistle

One of the six illustrations from the Calendar of Flowers in Canterbury Cathedral. Further information about this appears on page 25. The Chapel of Our Lady Undercroft with an arrangement of regale lilies, roses, bullrushes and phormium leaves by Dorothy Mowll.



Kent Messenger

EDITORIAL

The passing of summer and of a festival marks another milestone in the history of the Friends, and each year adds a further contribution to our work. As, year by year, the value of money decreases so do the demands upon it increase. There are thousands of worthy causes making continual and relentless demands on all people with a sense of responsibility to the past and the future, and the correspondence alone which comes into this office reveals how great is the desire and the endeavour to meet these responsibilities. The Friends of the Cathedral, all over the world, deserve to be especially thanked for the loyalty and fortitude with which they support this work.

This year's Festival was enriched by the presence with us of our Link for Cape Province, South Africa, Mr. Shaw, who together with Mrs. Shaw, has done noble work for the Friends. Since their visit the great distance which lies between them and us seems to have been lessened, as do the problems and difficulties which menace our horizons, and we are bound more closely to our South African Friends by what Mr. Shaw calls "the magic of Canterbury Cathedral". Our South African Friends are most particularly in our thoughts and prayers, that the clouds which darken the skies across their continent may be peaceably dispersed.

It is a privilege to be able to publish, in this issue, the text of the address given by Sir Kenneth Clark at the last Festival, and we are indebted to him not only for his scholarly contribution, but for making it possible for all Friends to share in this forward thinking assessment of the values of art. It is of the greatest value to have had the clear-cut, penetrating mind of so eminent an authority to clear the way and point the direction for the future by relating the past to present conditions and trends.

We are grateful also to Mrs. Bell for permitting us to publish the commemorative sermon delivered at Chichester Cathedral in memory of Bishop Bell, our Founder. His keen foresight and rich imagination flamed like a beacon here after his formation of these first Friends, and smoulder as a continuing inspiration for the future.

Amongst the preparations for Christmas, this year is marked by a completely new venture in our work—the production of a calendar of flowers in Canterbury Cathedral. This also has been a privilege to publish, thanks to the generosity of a group of Friends who have underwritten the cost of the blocks. It is hoped that as many Friends as possible will wish to send it as a little ambassador of goodwill, and as a personal greeting to renew the bonds of Friendship.

Among the letters of appreciation which come into the office there is one which bears out poignantly the "magic of Canterbury Cathedral" and from which this quotation is drawn in conclusion. It is from a scientist, several hundred miles away, who writes:

"being admitted to the Friends was quite one of the most wonderful things that has ever happened to me, and a source of everlasting satisfaction". Such thoughts are rarely crystallised into words, but when they are the result is quite unforgettable.

A PROPOSED TOUR OF FRENCH CATHEDRALS FOR THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY

The Steward proposes to arrange, for the Friends, a tour of cathedrals in France which have past or present links with Canterbury. It is expected to take 7-8 days, and the suggested time would be in early July, approximately between the 5th and the 13th. This would be a few days after Friends Festival Day on July 1st and would enable Friends coming from a distance to join in without additional travel. The cost will depend partly on the number of people travelling and on the hospitality which may be offered, to reduce expenses. It must inevitably be arranged to come well within the £50 travel allowance. At this stage it is thought that £30 would be a possible sum for the week.

After the first lap from Canterbury to Beauvais, the itinerary would lead westwards to the historic city of Rouen, with its fine cathedral and churches, to the Abbaye du Bec. This little corner of peaceful valley which surrounds the abbey is the source from which came the two great pillars of the Church, Lanfranc and Anselm, and it is to this centre of learning that Canterbury owes so great an intellectual debt. From Bec to Chartres, sister cathedral to Canterbury and one of the most beautiful in the world, it is closely associated with ours in stained glass and architecture. One of the recently acknowledged links is a placque to commemorate John of Salisbury, Becket's secretary, and later Bishop of Chartres. From there the pilgrimage would lead south to Bourges, resplendent with stained glass and stately architecture, and then to Vézelay, a classic example of the Romanesque style, for the spectacle of Son et Lumière.

The route would then turn northwards, and after a brief look at Auxerre, lead to Sens, the home of William of Sens, the architect of Canterbury's quire. Here a delegation from Canterbury is eagerly awaited by the French people, who are in the process of forming their own "Friends" of their cathedral of St. Etienne, which has just celebrated its eighth centenary. A visit to such as this would be unthinkable without the inclusion of Rheims, not only linked by her cathedral to Canterbury, but by the twinning of the two cities. The return to Beauvais would describe the last arc.

The aims of the tour would be twofold: to study the historic liason in a deeper appreciation of the beauty of these sister cathedrals, and to strengthen the bonds of friendship between our two peoples.

Will any Friends who are interested in taking part in this tour please write to the Steward for further information and so that the arrangements may be finalised regarding numbers and costs.

THE VALUES OF ART IN AN EXPANDING WORLD

AN ADDRESS GIVEN BY SIR KENNETH CLARK TO THE FRIENDS' FESTIVAL 1966

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The last time I had the honour of speaking to the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, I talked about art and the Church. I am afraid that my subject this evening is not so directly related to the work of the Friends. But I hope you will not think it altogether inappropriate if I speak to a body dedicated to the maintenance of this concentration of all the arts about the confusion of values in art at the present time. During the centuries of its existence those who have worked and worshipped in this Cathedral have differed in many matters—on points of doctrine, even on questions of law. But in so far as they strove to make it more beautiful by building, sculpture, painting, stained glass, they have had no doubt about what they were doing or why they were doing it. They were producing the best work they could, the most skilful, the most durable and the most pleasing to the sight, and they were doing so in order to glorify God—to instruct the people in the Christian faith and impress them with the power of the Church. What they did was valued in so far as it achieved those ends.

Now I am afraid it is not possible to ask people to take that simple view of art today. For the last hundred years most people in the Western world have accepted the belief that the value of art depends on a kind of exalted happiness which it alone can produce. A few social philosophers have tried to maintain that art should influence conduct, but in fact we know that it does not do so. At most we can say that it furnishes the mind with certain symbols which may be of value to our moral and spiritual life. We have come to accept this position and to suppose that moralists like Ruskin and Tolstoy, who wished to relate art more directly to human welfare, were barking up the wrong tree. At the same time we have demanded that the values by which we live should be definable in more or less measurable terms and we have come to reject those values that depend solely on mystique, authority and tradition. Curiously enough this drift of opinion does not seem to have influenced our conception of art. No one can measure or justify its effect, but it is still held in awe by millions of people who have never experienced it directly. It is the most mysterious example of minority rule in the whole field of human activitiy.

Can this curious situation be maintained? At first sight it would seem that there has never been a time when works of art have been so highly valued. I am not thinking primarily of the vast prices which they fetch at auctions: this is an economic question involving many complex factors, scarcity, surpluses, prestige and even the shortage of labour that prevents rich people from spending their money on large estates and yachts. I am thinking of the enormously increased attendances at museums and galleries, the sales of expensive books and the general air of prosperity and demand that surrounds the production and distribution of art.

But turn from the active to the contemplative sphere and one finds that never has there been a time with so little confidence in absolute values. The criteria by which works of art are judged become every day more uncertain, as the works themselves become more remote from direct experience. The language of criticism grows more incomprehensible and gives the impression that the critic is hiding his own bewilderment in a succession of complicated metaphors; and historians of art, to whom we might reasonably turn for a stable set of values, have washed their hands of the whole question. They study works of art as documents, irrespective of the qualities which, in the end, make them worth studying; they examine problems of iconology which can be illustrated just as well by a bad work of art as by a good one. And, in general historical terms, they adopt a relativist position, which considers all values in art as matters of fashion.

This is a dangerous state of opinion, because it encourages cynicism and reaction. In spite of the spread of art galleries and the proliferation of art books, art is still very much the preserve of a minority, and if a sort of Luther were to arise, and, in the name of common humanity, point a scornful finger at the paraphernalia of art, conspicuous waste, as Veblen called it, he might well bring down the whole elaborate structure, unless the believers in art could produce a rather more solid body of doctrine than they seem able to do at present.

It is significant that in considering the present uneasy state of art, one should invoke the name of a religious teacher. The view that art has become a sort of substitute for religion has been rejected by all serious critics. T. S. Eliot considered it one of the most insidious heresies of the nineteenth century.

But the fact remains that in a godless age and in what we call a free society, art is the only escape from materialism which is not subject to the law of diminishing returns, and one of the few which is not damaging to health. The moment of selfless joy which we experience in front of a work of art is no doubt less intense than the rapture of the saints. The most fervent art lovers have not yet undergone martyrdom. But artists like Gauguin have come near to it and I think it would require something not far short of torture to make me deny that Cézanne was a good painter, whereas I have no views at all as to whether socialism or capitalism is the better economic system, and would cheerfully vote for either. Even if art is not strictly comparable to religion, it has become the chief focus of that part of human activity which, by a labour-saving linguistic short cut, we may still call spiritual; and to lose our faith in it would be to create a dangerous void. Yet lose it we shall, if we lose our sense of values, and try to cover up the loss with metaphor and with endless researches into insignificant problems.

I think it is worth while examining this situation, not with the hope that there is much we can do about it, because conditions of this kind have to work themselves out like the common cold, but because it is always interesting to know where one stands in relation to the general historic process. There seem to be a number of factors involved, operating on various levels, which are probably all symptoms of the same general drift. The first of them can be described in one word: expansion. The existence of a clear, stable and creative scale of values in art coincides with periods which are enclosed by a dome of clear and workable assumptions. All the great consistent styles have arisen in such periods. Occupied as we now are, by differentiations and changes of fashion, we tend to overlook the underlying unity and long duration of such styles. We can see that little change took place in Egyptian art for 2,500 years, and that the decorative clouds of the T'ang dynasty seem very similar to those of the Manchu emperors. When we look at Western European culture we are chiefly aware of the differences; and it is of course true that since the twelfth century the European mind has been possessed by a fearful restlessness, which before concentrating on science showed itself in art and architecture. But even so, the artificial and irrational forms invented in fifth century Greece have proved as deeply rooted and as tenacious as anything in the Far East. The architectural idea of the Greek Temple, a wooden chalet rendered in stone, might seem illogical enough to have faded out soon after its appearance. In fact it had an unbroken existence for seven hundred years; and more than two thousand years after its invention it was still being used for the construction of temples by the very faith which had destroyed its original purpose. The Church of the Madeleine in Paris was finished 2210 years after the Parthenon.

In such survivals there is, of course, an element of inertia. To discover and perfect a new form that shall impose itself on posterity requires colossal energy as well as conviction. Nevertheless, such cultural survivals would not have been possible without a continuity of basic assumptions. It is true that the assumptions lying behind the Gothic cathedrals differed greatly from the assumptions of the 18th century. But through them both ran the classical faith in reason, the legacy of Plato and Aristotle, and the morality of the Stoic philosophers. After the Renaissance it was assumed that antiquity furnished a pattern for the arts, as it did for human behaviours, and although there were rebels against the oppressive standards of classicism, it remained the norm. The first fluttering acceptance of mediaeval art was no more than embroidery on the surface of classic structure. As Pugin said of the Houses of Parliament: "All Grecian, sir. Tudor details on a classic body." The assimilation of the

Gothic style, together with Chinoiserie, Turquerie and Singerie, pierced the enclosed world of classical belief, but by the middle of the century critical historians like Charles Blanc and Eastlake had achieved a synthesis of values which still provided the hierarchy of taste on which most of us were brought up. Visitors to London may remember a curious structure, looking like a gigantic version of a Gothic ciborium, which was erected a hundred years ago as a monument to the Prince Consort. Albert had been a great patron of the arts, and round the base of his memorial there was carved a marble frieze of painters, sculptors, architects, musicians and writers. Of the 169 figures chosen by Eastlake to represent the arts in 1865 there is hardly one whose greatness and appropriateness we should question today (except that Delaroche appears instead of Delacroix). The artistic merits of the Albert Memorial are not usually rated very highly, but, in spite of the incursion of mediaeval art, the scale of values it proposes is comprehensive, stable and convincing. The fact is that Gothic art was still the product of an evolved civilization. The expansion of values which accompanied the romantic movement, although it had a questionable influence on architecture and the decorative arts, did not violate our sense of cultural unity. The real break came in the early years of this century when certain painters and critics found the qualities of great art in the work of primitive people. I am not denying that they did discover such qualities. The finest pieces of Negro or Polynesian carving are indeed great works of art. But the fact that we can feel this about the work of people with whose culture we have nothing in common, whose mental processes are almost wholly irrational and whose basic assumptions are entirely incomprehensible to us, represents a crucial change in our whole philosophy of art.

The discovery of primitive art was, at first, associated with a revolution in aesthetics which had been brewing for some time. According to the new philosophy our response to works of art no longer involved a focus of intellectual and spiritual activities, but was a sensation, a kind of electric shock, unique and isolated from all other forms of experience. The merits of primitive art were a convenient illustration of this theory, and were consequently much exaggerated. To this was soon added the discovery of children's art, which was supposed to be equally spontaneous and have similar freedom from distracting associations. The discovery of monkeys' art belongs to a later phase of the same process, and raises rather different questions.

I need not examine the fallacies inherent in this way of thought; they have become obvious enough. My point is that the vast expansion of what can be taken seriously as art, led to a confusion of values; and the aesthetic philosophy, of which it was the symptom, gave no indication of how this confusion might be resolved. To take a metaphor from another order of human experience, one may say that the artistic values of the eighteenth century were based on a kind of civil law, and when, in the mid-nineteenth century, this was stretched beyond its capacity, its place had been taken by a kind of natural law. This metaphor has the advantage that by 1850 the word nature had taken on an almost religious meaning. The "Laws of Nature", which in the eighteenth century had meant little more than probabilities based on normal human experience, now meant to Ruskin, or for that matter, to Walt Whitman, God's law for the conduct of the universe. This is the mental background of Constable's Wordsworthian nature worship, Courbet's realism and the Impressionists' preoccupation with light. But they were still connected with the eighteenth century laws by their confidence in the old humanist adage, frequently asserted by the first art-theorist of the Renaissance, Leon Battista Alberti, that "nature will always act consistently in all her operations."

In the present century this confidence was shattered by the expansion of the physical world—by the final incomprehensibility of the infinitely large and the infinitely small. It is a curious fact of history that whereas great artists have shown themselves uninfluenced by social or religious systems (minor artists of course have often conformed), they have always responded instinctively to latent assumptions about the shape of the universe. The mediaeval craftsman may have been almost illiterate, but his sense of space somehow reflects the logical complexities of Dantesque Cosmogeny; the Renaissance artist conceived his forms, and situated them in accordance with the measurable areas of Euclidian geometry; and when Galileo had established that the earth was no longer at the centre of the universe, the vanishing point of pictorial perspective began to be placed outside the edge of the frame.

In all these epochs the universe seemed, if not comprehensible, at any rate realisable through some kind of symbolic projection. But quite early in the present century it became clear that no symbolic rendering of the universe could be close enough to the new data to have the smallest validity. As J. B. S. Haldane said, "My own suspicion is that the universe is not only queerer than we suppose, but queerer than we *can* suppose." Now, this feeling that the condition of the cosmos cannot even be stated symbolically and that, by our standards, it seems to be as incoherent as divine justice, was bound to have an effect on the sense of form and the sense of space. Kandinsky in his *Reminiscences* has left us a vivid, though ultimately misleading, account of an artist's response to the triumph of contemporary physics. "The crumbling of the atom," he says, "was to my soul like the crumbling of the whole world. Everything became uncertain, tottering, weak. I would not have been surprised if a stone had dissolved in the air in front of me and become invisible." To understand the strength of Kandinsky's emotion we must remember the almost religious status which seventeenth century scientists had conferred on the atom. "So very hard," as Newton said, "as never to wear or break in pieces:

no ordinary power being able to divide what God himself made one in the first creation." Kandinsky's memoirs were written in 1913, and in that year both Mosley and Niels Bohr had deprived the atom of some of its monomorphic dignity. No doubt their experiments were known to Kandinsky and seemed an exciting confirmation of his own pictorial needs. Nevertheless, I think that his statement is misleading, because he goes on to claim that this was the moment of liberation which allowed him to paint completely non-objective pictures. "Science," he says, equating science with the laws of nature, "science seemed to be destroyed. Its most important basis was only a delusion, an error of the learned." This is nonsense. Moreover, Kandinsky had painted his first abstract pictures a year or two earlier, and the decisive influence was probably the French fauve painters of 1905-6. In studying the history of art, the interplay between scientific or intellectual trends and what I may call professional movements within the arts themselves, has to be treated with great caution; and some intoxicating analogies are best resisted. For example, Kandinsky's statement has encouraged writers on modern art to claim that there is an analogy between the splitting of the atom and the splitting up of the objective image. But, apart from chronological difficulties (and the anticipation of science by art is not unknown), this looks to me more like one of those word games which the hard-pressed critic finds convenient. The two processes exist in such different spheres of intellectual activity that they have very little, or nothing, in common.

The complete suppression of the external object came about when the aesthetic philosophy of sensation attached to itself the epithet "pure". In 1913, Malevich produced his famous white square on a white ground, and defended it with the words "by suprematism I understand the supremacy of *pure* feeling in creative art", adding, "Everything that determines the objective ideal structure of life and of art—ideas, concepts and images—all this the artist has to cast aside in order to heed pure feeling." A few years later Mondrian extended this approach to a more intellectual idea of art, which he called "the mutual interaction of constructive elements and their internal relations." "This process," he says, "consists in mutual purification; purified constructive elements set up pure relationships, and these in their turn demand pure constructive elements."

You see that in my attempt to find out how a credible scale of values in art has been lost, I have been drawn into the problem of modern art. I would gladly have avoided a subject on which it seems to be almost impossible to say anything either sensible or new. Moreover, abstract art has been supported with such passionate loyalty that any attempt to view it with detachment is immediately interpreted as an attack. But in this study of values some reference to modern art is inevitable. Ultimately, it is the living art of our time and the personal tastes of dominant artists which redirect our appreciation of the past and govern what we call taste. In the last thirty years contemporary painting has played an active role in the liquidation of values by its constant change of aim. But through all the ups and downs of fashion, the main drift has been clear. It has been, and continues to be, towards an even greater abstraction, an even more rigorous suppression of the objective visual experience. Kandinsky, Malevich and Mondrian remain the prophets of our present phase. Has anything like this happened before?

Well, as a matter of fact, it has. The iconophobic impulses, which both Byzantium and Islam took over from Judaic culture, although obviously different in many respects, show enough points of resemblance to be worth examining. For one thing they were primarily an aesthetic phenomenon, and appeared in art before they appeared in dogma. The heart had gone out of representational-figurative art in all the Syrian, Judaic, Coptic and North African world before images were formally condemned by the church fathers and centuries before they were prohibited by Islam; and secondly, when image making was attacked it was in the name of *purity*. God is a spirit, to be apprehended immediately; and any attempts to represent him by an image, or even by a symbol, is to degrade the divine essence. I am not sure how far the author of the second commandment had this in mind: more probably he was simply anxious to preserve the unity of his tribe. But this was certainly the ideal of the church fathers of Syria, Africa and Spain, and when it was abandoned by Gregory the Great, in about the year 600, we may say that the Roman Church had accepted that alliance with pagan antiquity which it has maintained till the present day. Of course, it would be a mistake to equate this early iconophobia with puritanism, as we have come to understand the word. The decoration of St. Sophia, the most splendid church in Christendom, was originally without any figurative representations, and this was probably due to the influence of the Empress Theodora, who had been educated in Alexandria. No puritanism in her set. Equally, we cannot associate the ethos of the Pilgrim Fathers with that of the Caliphate, although both of them eschewed images. This Syrian iconophobia was based on purity of *sensation*, in which the sensuous immediacy of art gained force by being deprived of recognition and the complex train of associations which the figure arts arouse. But although we cannot call imageless art puritanical, we can properly call it anti-catholic, something outside the main classical tradition and, to a large extent, something revolutionary, militant and intolerant.

Cautiously examining the analogy between fourth-fifth century iconophobia and modern art, we are struck with one important discrepancy. The imageless art of Syria, Egypt and Constantinople was primarily decorative. Its effect on the human mind was subordinate to its function as part of an architectural whole. The capitals in the Coptic Museum in Cairo are great works of art, but they appeal, in the most narrow sense, to the aesthetic emotions. They have practically no intellectual content and cannot be called a form of communication. This is a serious limitation, and was felt to be so at the time: hence the inclusion, among the decorative motifs, of Christian symbols, and in Islamic art, of texts from the Koran—although Cufic script is in itself so superbly decorative that this may be considered cheating. Now the non-representational art of the last fifty years has vigorously denied the charge that it is decorative: and in its recent phases has claimed that it is essentially a communication. An apologist of tachism has said, "What we want to know is not what the world looks like, but what we mean to each other": obvious enough in tachism; but even the most austere constructions of abstract art express personal convictions. We often say in criticism of someone's character that "he lacks a sense of proportion", and when this trite metaphor is given concrete and visible form we must accept it as a true communication of personality.

But in spite of this serious discrepancy, the points of likeness are considerable and, I think, valid. The most striking is the insistence on purity. I have already given examples from the prophets of modern painting; I may add to them the prophet of modern music, Arnold Schoenberg. In his opera *Moses and Aaron*, which he thought of as his crowning achievement, Moses, the exponent of the pure word of God, is betrayed by his brother, who believes that the word must be revealed through images. It was Schoenberg's intention to end the opera with the triumph of Moses, but he could think of no conclusive arguments and the third act was never written. Perhaps only Spinoza could have provided an adequate libretto.

This notion that a spiritual experience, whether received through the senses or through the intellect, must be pure, although psychologically an exceedingly dubious concept, has had a recurring fascination for the European mind, and has often (Cistercians, Quakers, etc.) led to the suppression of ornaments as well as of images. Perhaps we may say that modern architecture is to some extent a reflection of this state of mind. In modern painting it became involved with other factors—the vulgar rivalry of the camera and exhaustion of nineteenth century academism. All these factors combined to make it an art of revolt against the conforming centre; and since for over fifty years almost every movement which was at first attacked or derided was later valued and praised, the idea has taken root that to be ultimately valuable a work of art must be initially shocking. A certain amount of modern art cannot really be accounted for on any other principle. Needless to say there is nothing in the history of art earlier than 1860 to support this view, and I would not mention anything so ephemeral were it not certain that this unconscious argument has played a part in the formation of contemporary taste.

Since the conventional view of painting was—and perhaps still is—that it should represent objective reality, and since academic art was encumbered by a repertoire of trivial observations, it was natural that an art of revolt should feel bound to purify itself from the detritus of normal perception, and the drift of fashion coincided with the more profound urge towards purity and abstraction.

I used to think that there was a third reason for the specialised character of modern art, the ascendancy of science. I am now inclined to question how far this theory is valid. It is true that in the middle ages and the Renaissance science and art were much closer together than they are today, because one of the functions of art was to convey information about the visible world; and as science became more specialised and drew away from normal means of perception this unity (with many others) was inevitably lost. But one must admit that science was already specialised in the nineteenth century, and the nineteenth century produced a quantity of great artists. However, I think it is true to say that as science has become more specialised and more abstract, so art has felt the need to make its own realm purer and more inaccessible. To anticipate a discovery of physics by a mathematical equation is a feat of intelligence which seems to require of art something more than mere observation.

Such then, would be my summary of our present situation, and if it is correct you will see why modern art has contributed to our uncertainty of values. The word pure, although very far from precise when applied to a work of art, is not without a shadow of meaning. It implies that the work in question affects us primarily through its form and colour, and that the elements of memory and association which it contains are so completely absorbed in the form and colour that we are only aware of them unconsciously. To take a concrete instance, we may say that a Matisse collage is "purer" than a Matisse odalisque, meaning that in the collage the odalisque has been swallowed, although she can be recognised in the curves of a piece of blue paper by those who know Matisse's earlier work. Evidently the "purer" an art becomes, the less easily can it be judged by ordinary human standards. The more a spiritual experience becomes immediate the less it is dependent on tradition. As I have said, modern art is, in a large sense of the word, anti-catholic. Not only does it abandon that alliance with the physical world and that need to digest every scrap of human experience which has nourished the Catholic church; but historically it has been promoted by artists from outside the nursery of traditional art, the northern shores of the Mediterranean. Two of its founders, and several of its chief living representatives come from a country which was supposed to have no tradition of painting at all, from Russia; and it seems to me doubtful if abstract art would have lasted so long if it had not taken root in the virgin soil of the U.S.A. Let me hasten to add that I am not forgetting the very considerable

American artists of the nineteenth century. But neither Eakins nor Winslow Homer can be said to have been at the creative centre of the art of their time; whereas today the abstract painters of New York are.

Now tradition is without doubt the most comfortable source of values, and the old Catholic maxim, *securus judicat orbis terrarum*, is still a first step towards understanding. At all times tradition saves one a lot of anxiety, and never more than at a time when matter is changing its composition and the universe its shape in a way that very few of us can understand, but with results which all of us have reason to dread. And yet we know that to pretend to believe in a dead tradition is one of the least fruitful forms of pretence. Orbis terrarum meant simply the Mediterranean, and our secure judgements must be based on something very much wider.

Where can we find a new basis of value? What, in the expanding universe, have we got left? We have ourselves. It is through human qualities, after all, that man has extended himself beyond his own comprehension, through his memory, his ability to draw inferences, his willingness to co-operate, and his imagination. All over the world men have the same needs, the same means of perception and the same emotions. They respond to the same rhythms and dream the same dreams. The discovery of primitive art, which did so much to shake the values of the classical tradition, is also one of the most moving proofs of the unity of mankind. We can perceive in the arts of every culture certain qualities of form, of design, of aesthetic purpose which seem to transcend differences of social and economic organisation; and these formal qualities must, in the end, be the visible expression of human experience. It is the critic's duty to interpret them. We cannot all read an abstract work of art as Ruskin could read a Byzantine capital or as Riegl could follow the evolution of the palmette; but with a little help we can come much nearer to it than we suppose. The very metaphors of popular speech show an amazing power of abstraction. We have no difficulty in recognising weakness or strength, nobility or meanness, in the shape of a pot, if it is pointed out to us.

This leads me back to a point I touched on earlier, the responsibility of art historians for the collapse of values. As the old humanist tradition became untenable they abandoned the function of criticism or evaluation, giving as their excuse the amount of research still to be done on the available evidence. Our museums are stuffed to capacity, far beyond the needs of the average visitor; and photography has added a mountain of documentation, convenient and deceptive. But sooner or later the pleasant ritual of classification, with its small certainties, must give place to the labour of analysis, and the hazards of synthesis. We need great historical interpreters of form like Ruskin, Riegl, Wölfflin, Dvorak and Focillon.

I say "historical" because only by grouping and analysing the art of the past can we recognise those elements which are lasting and universal; and I say "form" because, in the study of mankind, subject divides, form unites. The fact that all over the world, and at every stage of culture, men have felt a need to impose forms of order on the chaos of visible experiences, and that we can recognise the value of these forms intuitively, without knowing anything about the circumstances that produced them, should be reckoned one of the great discoveries of the last fifty years. The appreciation of primitive art, which seemed at first to have contributed to the displacement of values, should in the end be the basis of a new humanism. Unfortunately, the aesthetic theory which accompanied this discovery, the notion that this universally valid sense of form must be a sensation unconnected with other human experiences, was an error. No doubt there will always be in our response to works of art some physical feelings that will resist analysis: the scent of the rose. It was Ruskin himself who said, "sculpture is essentially the production of a bossiness or pleasant roundness." But to call this physical quality "pure" and to claim that it alone is the source of aesthetic pleasure is a fallacy. Even the most primitive art is suffused with human emotions. In a recent exhibition of Negro carvings in Paris, I was struck less by the plastic qualities which had so forcibly impressed the painter of the *Demoiselles d'Avignon*, than by their nobility and pathos.

The critical point in all interpretation is precisely the point at which experience becomes form; and it is as elusive as the moment when we actually fall asleep. But what should we say of a biologist who gave up further investigations because the secret of life was said to be impenetrable? Of course, the art historian's work has become more complex, not only on account of the accumulation of evidence, but because of the more elaborate tests to which works of art must be submitted. If we allow that the creative moment is modified by innumerable memories and associations, then we must use, in our analysis, all the analogies that can help us through this uncharted sea. Symbol and gesture, ritual and play, mythology and psychology, patterns of animal behaviour, all these must be related to works of art, not merely to unriddle subjects, but to elucidate form. Perhaps we shall find out only what we know already by instinct. But in the process we may clear our minds of the fears and fantasies that at present confuse our sense of values, and an art historian may be permitted to hope that he may discover a few fixed points of belief and experience on which a defensible scale of values may once again be built.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Friends of the Cathedral wish to thank all contributors to this issue, also the *Kentish Gazette* and the *Kent Messenger* for kindly lending plates for the illustrations.

A COMMEMORATIVE SERMON PREACHED IN CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL ON SUNDAY, 17th OCTOBER, 1965

GEORGE BELL, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER
DEAN OF CANTERBURY 1924-29
FOUNDER OF THE F.C.C. 1927

2 Esdras vii, 12, 13—"The entrances of this Age have been made narrow and painful and difficult, fear and evil, full of perils, and very laborious. But the entrances of the greater Age to come are spacious and secure, and bearing the fruit of immortality."

These verses from the Apocrypha I first discovered in a little book written in 1940—perhaps the most hazardous and critical year in the long history of our country—by Bishop Bell of Chichester. And it is a great privilege for one who knew him personally, and who had indeed owed much to his spontaneous kindness and encouragement, to have been invited to commemorate him in a sermon preached in this Cathedral Church before the publication, which is so eagerly awaited, of the official biography begun by the late Doctor Norman Sykes and completed by Doctor Jasper.

There is a prayer which runs as follows: "Dear God, give us the strength to accept with serenity the things which cannot be changed. Give us courage to change the things that can be and ought to be changed. And give us wisdom to distinguish the one from the other. Amen."

It is a prayer that may put many of us in mind very particularly of George Kennedy Allen Bell, 99th Bishop of Chichester, who is described upon his memorial plaque in this Cathedral as "A true Pastor: Poet and Patron of the Arts: Champion of the Oppressed: and tireless Worker for Christian Unity." Already seven years have passed since he entered into rest. He had retired at the beginning of 1958, and he died on the 3rd of October in the same year, at the age of seventy-five. And, in a time when memories are short, and hero-worship is at a discount, it is well that he should be commemorated, in order that he may speak to us once again across the years in his own words.

For the office and work of a Diocesan bishop in the Church of England, George Bell was ideally equipped, not only by the unusual variety of his personal gifts, but by the particular range of his experience: parson's son, scholar of Christ Church, curater at Leeds, Oxford tutor, chaplain for ten years to Archbishop Randell Davidson, and then for five years Dean of Canterbury. When he became Bishop of Chichester in 1929, he was the youngest member of the episcopal Bench: and throughout his life he had a surprisingly youthful appearance, which was the outward expression of a mind that never aged or staled or narrowed, but retained to an astonishing degree the freshness of imagination, the eager curiosity, and the intellectual vitality of youth. Superficially there was also something youthful in his modest diffidence of manner combined with an outspokenness that was entirely without fear in the public expression, at certain moments, of opinions contrary to the popular mood. Yet here the analogy is deceptive, for the diffidence of Bishop Bell sprang from a deep personal humility which is not an attribute of youth, but of the spiritual maturity of a man whose inner life is hid with Christ in God; while the outspokenness which in young men can generally be recognised as a sign of inexperience, of impetuosity, of a somewhat conventional pattern of intolerance, and of an unconsciousness of having anything to lose, is, by contrast, in an Elder Statesman of the Church, a mark of the highest moral courage and of a sense of pastoral responsibility and public duty. It has not ceased to be remembered that certain policies or measures adopted by the British Government in the persecution of the war against Nazi Germany and its allies were publicly challenged by the Bishop of Chichester: what is more liable to be forgotten is that these clashes were relatively few, and not of his own seeking, for George Bell had no natural appetite for controversy, and was concerned only with the principles at stake. To what extent history will vindicate his judgement remains to be seen; the perspective is as yet too short; but the Church of England has reason to be proud that, whether right or wrong, he took the stand he did, in the name of religion, humanity, and justice.

Moreover, in addition to his moral courage, which was always fearless but never fanatical, he also possessed, both as a Diocesan bishop and as a trusted adviser of the World Council of Churches which he had done so much to revivify, outstanding administrative gifts. Experience ripened his resourcefulness, and strengthened his courteous but resolute determination to change the things that could be and ought to be changed. Few great men—and George Bell was unquestionably a great man—have shown so harmonious a combination of gentleness and strength.

At heart he was always a pastor; and in the lectures of Pastoral Theology which he gave at Cambridge in the winter of 1926-27, and afterwards published under the title, *The Modern Parson* (1928), there is a revealing phrase in which he suggests that the work of a parson, and especially of a parish priest, "might be happily described as *the work of opening doors*." The thought is evidently suggested by a passage, quoted on the same page, in which old Canon Barnett of Whitechapel and Toynber Hall described himself as having given his life to opening doors—"the doors between the classes, the doors between the Universities and the democracy, the doors between culture and industry, the doors between nations, the door to the fuller and wider life which consists in the end in the knowledge of God." And, upon this, Bell comments: "I think any priest might count himself happy, and thank God, if his work could be similarly described as a work of opening the doors of personal understanding, of knowledge, and of Life."

That comment is surely a perfect summary of his own life's work, although Bishop Bell was so many-sided that different people will remember him chiefly for different things. As Dean of Canterbury, he threw open the doors of the Mother Church of the world-wide Anglican Communion, not only by abolishing admission charges for visitors (as Dean Bennett had already done at Chester) despite the legitimate financial misgivings of the members of the Chapter, but also by making his own distinctive contribution in the form of a new kind of association which has since been widely emulated "The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral"; nor is it too much to say that what he did in those five years has influenced every Cathedral in the Church of England. But he never forgot what is the real and essential function of a Cathedral, which is not primarily to contribute "a tourist attraction". In the words of the charge which he delivered at his Primary Visitation of the Cathedral Church of Chichester on November 4th, 1948:—

"Our Cathedral aims above all things at offering continuous and reverent worship to Almighty God. It is full of beauty, but it is not a museum. It is rich in the memorials of older days in the mission of the Church in Sussex—in tombs and monuments and in relics of the past. But it is a sanctuary not of dead men, but of the living God. It is a fountain and a house of prayer to which all may come . . . "

Moreover, both at Canterbury, and afterwards, at Chichester, he re-opened communications between the Church and modern culture, especially in the sphere of Drama and Poetry and the Arts. Had it not been for his initiative, T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*, which had its first production in the Chapter House at Canterbury, might never have been written. As Bishop of Chichester, he recognised and fostered the artistic genius of a refugee from Hitler's Germany, Hans Zeibusch, and thus revived the art of mural paintings in English Churches as an adjunct to devotion. Nor is it too insignificant to be recorded that he himself was something of a poet, and, as a very young man, had edited two admirable little anthologies of English verse: *Poems of Life and Death, and Poems of Love.*

What is, however, far more memorable and of much wider consequence, is that, as a leader in the Ecumenical Movement for the recovery of Church Unity (and, in his latter years, honorary President of the World Council of Churches), Bishop Bell gave himself unsparingly to the task of breaking down ancient barriers of prejudice and misunderstanding and mutual disdain between Christians of differing ecclesiastical traditions and loyalties. The Wartburg Conference which brought together thirteen leading English and German theologians in 1928—itself the sequel to a similar but more exploratory venture at Canterbury under Bell's auspices in the previous year, which was in turn the outcome of a suggestion he had made at the World Conference of the Churches at Stockholm in August, 1925—may justly be regarded as something more than a new step forward in ecumenical relations. Directly and indirectly, it had an influence for good among Christians in England and in Germany which could still be felt thirteen years later, when war broke out in 1939. But for all this varied and utterly disinterested ecumenical activity—George Bell was incapable of self-seeking—there was, of course, a price to be paid. Conferences are exacting for those who organise them; and, in those less enlightened days before the second World War, Church Dignitaries who chose to spend their time in that way had to take it out of their summer holidays, which—particularly if they were married—must have been a bore. Again, there are few more tedious or more thankless tasks than editing select documents; and the four series of *Documents on Christian Unity* (1924, 1930, 1948, 1958), which no one else could have done so well, remain a monument to his industry and his patience. It was not, beyond a certain point, the kind of work that could be delegated. But George Bell always accepted drudgery goodhumouredly and without complaining, because he appreciated that it went with the specialised duty to which God had called him. It was the price of the work of opening the doors of mutual understanding between the divided Churches which constitute the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ. And, in the cause of humanity, before, during, and after the world conflict of 1939-45, he laboured tirelessly to keep open the doors of hope to those who were tempted to despair—Jewish and Christian refugees, interned aliens, and prisoners of war.

Bishop Bell had what in our modern idiom is called an "outgoing" personality. As he wrote with perfect simplicity in the Foreword to his Penguin paperback, *Christianity and World Order*, published in 1940:—

> " . . . I have written this book because I am a believer, and want to share my belief with others. I am certain that the Christian faith has a word of incalculable value for those times . . . I am certain that it is the truth about human life, personal, social, international. I believe that God is a living God. I believe that Christ is the Lord of all life. I believe that the Church is the supreme fellowship. Such is the belief that I desire to share with my readers . . . "

George Bell was indeed supremely a man who *desired to share*. He had little use for what, in one of his favourite quotations from Auden, he described as "The high thin rare continuous worship of the self absorbed."

At the same time, while subscribing (though possibly with some mental reservations) to Archbishop William Temple's conviction that the Christian faith demands expression in the social and political realm, he did not close his eyes to the fact that the world, even forty years ago, appeared increasingly indifferent to what the Church believes. The point is that he had been in parish work long enough to have no illusions on that score, whether optimistic or pessimistic. "The root cause of our present distress, it cannot be too often stated, is our godlessness". So he proclaimed in 1940. Yet he knew that we must not oversimplify the picture. As he had said in 1926, with a pastoral insight that is still as valid now as it was then:—

> " . . . There is much materialism, much secularism, and yet a hunger all the time for the things of the Spirit. The world is an odd compound of materialism and a sort of instinctive religion, a sort of instinctive desire for higher and better things . . . "

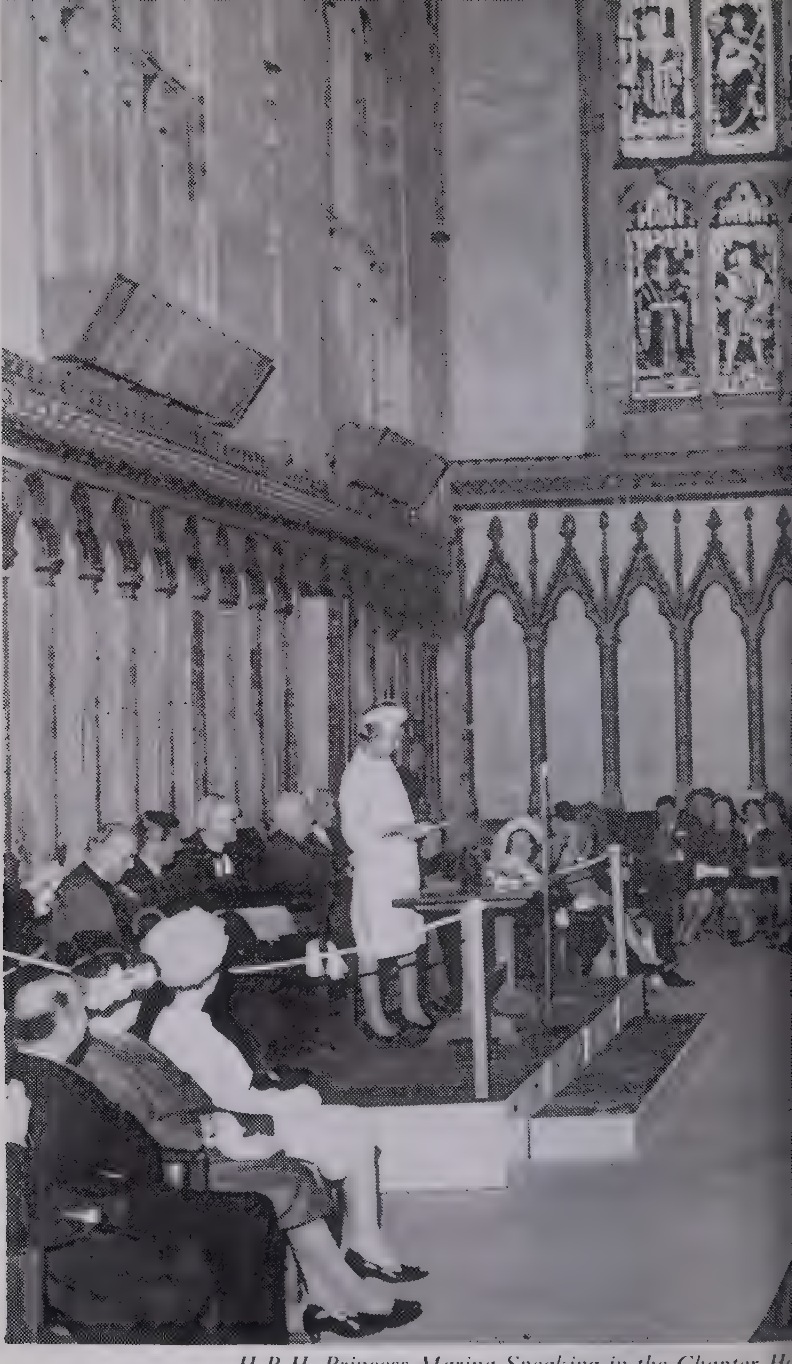
I believe there is a real danger that, because Bell's Life of Archbishop Davidson, first published in 1935, is, by common consent, the greatest ecclesiastical biography published in England in the twentieth century, he may be remembered as an author by that book alone, and men may forget how much else he wrote that is still memorable. A good deal of it, unfortunately, appeared in a very ephemeral form: for example, his brilliant short Memoir of Archbishop Temple is available only in the Penguin paperback edition, long since out of print, and not even in the cloth-bound edition, of the late Canon A. E. Baker's *William Temple and his Message* (1966).

Nor can it be denied that some of his writings are, inevitably, dated: they belong to the time when they were written. This is true, for instance, of his Primary Visitation Charge as Bishop of Chichester, issued in 1937 under the title, *Common Order in Christ's Church.* It would indeed be difficult to find a more masterly example of the art of combining a clear and firm directive with a temperate and persuasive exposition of it: yet this Charge belongs to a particular context in the history of the Church of England, although as such it is an historic document of some importance. But what stands out from its pages are the words, "*I want to encourage* . . . " Without flattery of false sentiment, the Bishop, as a Father-in-God, places on record his general impression, from the answers to his Articles of Inquiry and from other evidence, of quiet steadfast attention to duty on the part of his clergy, often in spite of local apathy and apparent slowness of response, and in face of difficulties, many of them great, and very different from those which their predecessors had had to face in the nineteenth century, or before the 1914-1918 war. And so he writes:—

> "Do not despond if things seem dark in your particular parish. The whole Church is engaged in this trial . . . And the Church, in spite of all the imperfections of its human agents, is the trustee and teacher of the Revelation of God, and of 'what is solid, what is true.' That humble building in the slums,

George Cicestr:
BISHOP OF CHICHESTER

George Kennedy Arthur Bell
Founder of the Friends
Dean of Canterbury 1924 *to* 1929
Bishop of Chichester 1929 *to* 1953

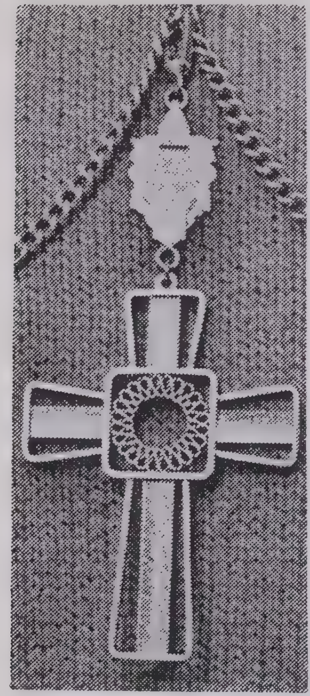


H.R.H. Princess Marina Speaking in the Chapter Ho

A lovely picture, by courtesy of the "Kentish Gazette", of a setting

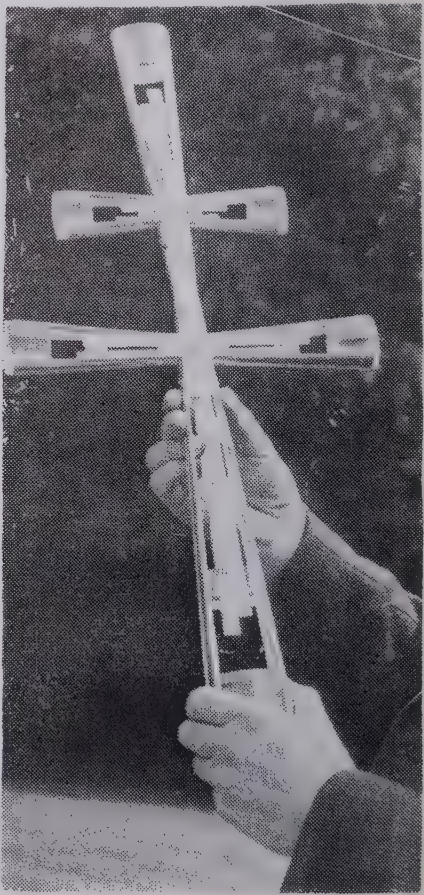
ened the Cathedral's new Checker Library in July
ival dramas. The table on the dais is the recent gift of a Friend.

THE ARCHBISHOP COMMISSIONS NEW TWENTIETH CENTURY DESIGNS



This pectoral cross and chain was a gift from the Archbishop of Canterbury to Pope Paul VI. It was designed and made by nine students of the Canterbury College of Art. It is a cross within a cross, linked by the rosette of interlacing units and symbolising the unity of churches. The top limb of the inner cross is in the form of a hinged lid to act as a reliquary.

[*Kentish Gazette*



The new Primatial cross, made of silver gilt and acrylic resin, was commissioned by Dr. Ramsey and designed by Mr. John Ruby, head of the Industrial Design School of Canterbury College of Art. It was first used during His Grace's recent visit to Canada, and it weighs $5\frac{1}{4}$ lb. as compared with the 30 lb. of its predecessor.

Kentish Gazette

> that quiet and lovely sanctuary in the Downs, that insignificant curate, that patient incumbent, these are the means which an All Merciful Providence may use for pointing the way to the restless younger generation and to the detached multitudes. 'Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom'."

To those who knew him only superficially, Bishop Bell always appeared cheerful and imperturbable. But that impression was misleading, for he was in fact extremely sensitive, as men of compassionate sympathy and solicitude for others are wont to be. The pastoral office of a bishop in the Church of God has its anxieties, and he felt the burden of them. Invariably charitable towards others, he was often distrustful of himself, and never realised until the last how universal was the affection with which he was regarded in the diocese. Yet, though never complacent, he was always hopeful, and possessed an inward serenity that enabled others, more easily tempted to despondency, to draw upon his strength. The difficulties and discouragements of the parochial ministry, inherent in our modern situation, did not markedly diminish after what he was subsequently to describe as "the interval of a shattering war". But he never showed any sign of losing heart; nor would he ever have wished to retract or qualify what he had said in his book, *The Modern Parson*, many years before:—

> " . . . The office of parson in itself puts a man in possession of opportunities of *helping others* to which no other office, held as a matter of course by a young man at the start of his work, can lay claim. And I would add, by way of corollary, that for a man who longs to know his fellow human beings in all their experiences and at all stages of their life, and to serve them with the best of his powers, there is no calling so full of promise and opportunity as the calling of a parson."

"Opening doors"—"helping others"—"sharing his beliefs": these, expressed in his own simple, homespun phrases, were the characteristic notes of the ministry of George Bell. But it is self-evident that the real secret of this ministry was that, both as a man of God and as a poet and a lover of the beautiful, he had the gift of vision which perceives, within that which is outward and transitory, the things that are unseen and eternal. Beyond the narrow and difficult and perilous entrances of this Age, he discerned the entrances of the greater Age to come, entrances which are spacious and secure, and bearing the fruit of immortality.

CHARLES SMYTH.

Corpus Christi College,
Cambridge.

FESTIVAL 1966

This year's Festival was memorable for the contributions made to the spheres of art, music and drama, producing, as it were, a cluster of stars in the night sky of the arts. The Friends are grateful to so many people for the generous gifts of talent, service and money, affectionately offered in the name of Canterbury Cathedral.

The Symphony Concert was a splendid occasion, in which the impressionable setting added strength and grace to the fine rendering of Brahms, Beethoven and Sibelious, given by the Capriol Orchestra, under the direction of Harold Gray. Canterbury's Ronald Smith was the accomplished soloist in the Piano Concerto. The Friends of the Cathedral wish to thank the group of Friends who so generously acted as guarantors to the heavy costs of a concert which will always be remembered with gratitude by those who were present.

The visual arts were represented by two outstanding personalities. Sir Kenneth Clark, a member of the Council and a Friend of long standing gave a brilliant and deeply considered address entitled the "Values of Art in an Expanding World", the text of which he has kindly permitted to be printed in this issue. The Friends are indebted to him for the privilege of having an article in the *Chronicle* written by one of the foremost world authorities on art. Professor Zarnecki, Professor of the History of Art, the Courtauld Institute, as a finale to the Festival, lectured on the "Romanesque Carvings in the Crypt". This was a unique experience for a lecturer to speak *in* the crypt *on* the crypt, and it enabled him to illustrate his points to the gathered Friends not only with a fine collection of slides but by demonstrating the subject itself.

Also in the field of the visual arts, an exhibition of the Sculpture of Chartres Cathedral was valuable in revealing the sources of the iconography of Romanesque sculpture, as well as in the excellence of its photographs, produced by the Courtauld Institute. The exhibition was mounted and displayed by the Warburg Institute.

Sons of Adam, by P. J. Lamb, which had three performances during the week, was given by the Diocesan Drama Society and produced by Joan Abbott, and the costumes, of great simplicity in form and colour, were designed by Joan Nunn. One of the three performances was high-lighted by the arrival of the author, P. J. Lamb, the Principal of the Theological College, York, who, with Mrs. Lamb made the long journey specially to see the production.

Youth Festival Day was outstanding in two aspects. In the new service composed for Youth Festival Day the theme was the "Call of God and the Response of Man", involving a procession moving around the nave, pausing at stations where, in turn, six Youth Friends read the lessons. Later, in the Chapter House, the choristers, as ever, distinguished themselves, under the direction of Mr. Wicks, with a spirited entertainment, brilliantly executed, of a mixture of classical and modern works including some of their own very worthy compositions. The introduction of a guest artist was an innovation and a recitation by Vivienne Moncrieff of her own poem on Becket made an interesting contrast as a lyrical, literary touch.

Friends' Festival Day was graced by the presence of the President, the Lord Archbishop, who presented an illuminated address to Mr. and Mrs. Shaw, of Cape Province, South Africa, for their long and distinguished service to the Friends. The address was designed and illuminated by Freda Harmer the calligrapher, under the direction of William Gardner and the text is as follows:—"Herbert W. Shaw A Founder Friend of Canterbury Cathedral from 1927, and a Link between the Cathedral and the people of South Africa. This token of appreciation and gratitude is presented for his outstanding service: for having enrolled 128 new Friends since 1961 when he was asked to become the first of the overseas Links: for his untiring efforts to further the work of this Society in the preservation of the Cathedral for posterity, and in strengthening the bonds of Friendship between the people of South Africa and this country. Friends' Festival Day 18th June 1966." Signed by the Archbishop and by the Dean. Mr. Shaw continued this good work throughout his visit, both in Great Britain and during the sea voyage home, even making new Friends on board ship (including an Archbishop), and together with Mrs. Shaw is still finding new Friends on return. His most astonishing achievement was when, during a period in hospital, he successfully enrolled, as Friends, the surgeon who had operated on him, and three members of the staff. Their presence with us during the Festival was a source of great joy and in retrospect has brought all our South African Friends even closer than before.

The audited balance sheet for the Festival 1966 will be published with the financial statement for the year in the forthcoming Report.

FRIENDS' FESTIVAL DAY 1967 WILL BE ON SATURDAY, JULY 1ST.

YOUTH FESTIVAL DAY 1967 WILL BE ON FRIDAY, JUNE 30TH.

Please note the later dates.

BOOK REVIEW

Thomas. By Shelley Mydans

In literary terms, the "holy blissful martyr" of Canterbury is no longer to seek. It is hard to imagine how the religious meaning of the martyrdom could be more intelligently and sensitively presented than in *Murder in the Cathedral.*

T. S. Eliot's treatment depends essentially, however, on separating the martyr from the man. The play's structure is divided, like the Eucharist, into preparation, sermon, and sacrifice, and only the first of these is concerned with self-examination. For Eliot, questions of personality and motivation are only preliminary. The martyr is ready for the sacrifice when he knows that, on the timeless plane of God's action, he himself is neither active agent nor passive sufferer, for he is both; and he can have no individual will, make no personal decision. He is neither a character nor an actor in the moral sense. He "acts" only as the vehicle of God's drama. The sermon underlines this paradoxical identification of suffering and action, passion and redemption, in the Christian mystery itself. The function of the Chorus is that of a choir leading our responses, helping the congregation to enact not only the martyrdom of Becket, but the eternal pattern of guilt and expiation of which that martyrdom is a figure. Hence the play is also non-historical. It seeks, not the historical reconstruction of an event in the context of the twelfth century, but participation in an eternal mystery; not merely a murder, but a service in the cathedral.

Yet the questions about Becket the man which Eliot allows his four knights to pose after the murder, persist in our minds after we step outside the West Door. Was he a saint, this very wordly man? Or a politician trapped? Or even a megalomaniac whose arrogance and power-hunger grew beyond reasonable bounds? Can we be sure of our allegiance in that battle between the admirable aims of King and Archbishop? And how are we to understand the relationship of love and hate between them?

Jean Anouilh's *Becket* will not take us far. If it seems ungenerous to carp at an author who confesses so ingenuously that he is not a serious man, it is impossible to question his judgement. The search for "honour" trivialises the religious dimension of the story as much as the boy-king's love affair trivialises the personal tragedy. Where Eliot is non-historical, Anouilh jests with history, lightly.

A rather more serious attempt to understand Becket has now been made by Shelley Mydans in her long historical novel, *Thomas.* The life is recreated in depth: childhood in the house of a London merchant, a double education in a monastery and the castle of a noble benefactor, student days in Paris, secretaryship to the justiciar of London, service with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the king's summons, and the rise to Chancellor, boon-companion, key administrator, diplomat, general. King Henry's career, too, is set in its full historical perspective against the struggles of Stephen and Matilda and the troubles of the King of France. When Thomas is Archbishop, Shelley Mydans shows how the tortuous ins and outs of the shifting power-balance in Europe played across and determined the struggle of Church and State in England. Moreover she tries to interweave with her main story as many insights into the life of ordinary people as she can manage. The book is clearly the outcome of long and loving research. Whatever criticisms a professional historian might wish to make, the rest of us are given at least a conception of what historical density should look like in fictional terms.

There are also, however, an artistry and a controlling imagination which give the book a certain stature as a novel. Episode after episode in the story of Thomas is made to prefigure his eventual choice, so that for all its multicplicity, the story is coherent. There is also a major theme which will stand on its own, imaginatively, irrespective of the historical validity of the theories of Margaret Mead. Shelley Mydans' twelfth century is a meeting-ground for Christianity, Arthurian folk-legend, fairy-lore, and witchcraft in the minds of the common people—and the King. Her Henry II, grandson of Robert the Devil, appoints his Chancellor in the Sacred Wood where he believes his ancestor Rufus gave his blood for his people, in ritual sacrifice. As he loads Thomas with wealth and power it is not merely through love, but a tacit creation of a Substitute whose death will serve for the King's should the need arise. The struggle is then not only between Church and State, but between two religions held in the blood. Thomas, only partly understanding, has a choice of not one martyrdom but two. And the King's hatred springs from what he sees as not only personal and political, but religious betrayal.

M. KINKEAD-WEEKES.

If you are a Friend, or wish to become a Friend and are resident in Great Britain

PLEASE

consider paying your subscription under

A SEVEN YEAR COVENANT

A covenant form appears on page 36.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. MARY AND ALL SAINTS, SALISBURY, RHODESIA

In the heart of modern Salisbury lies Cecil Square. A flagstaff in the Square marks the site where, on 11th September, 1890, the Pioneer Column reached the end of its long journey. Here the Union Jack was raised and has flown ever since. Here Canon Balfour, Chaplain to the Column, said the first prayers and, on the next day, celebrated Holy Communion for the first time in Rhodesia. Nearby, with his own hands, he built the hut that was Salisbury's first church, and four years later the first Cathedral of wood and iron was built on this site. Much of the furniture of this building can be seen in the present Cathedral today.

In 1913 the citizens of Salisbury, with faith and courage, began the building of a granite Cathedral to the design of Rhodes' own architect, Sir Herbert Baker. This building is based on the design of a church in Italy, that of St. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna. As the first stage, the apse, Choir, and north and south chapels were built, while the wood and iron nave of the old building was joined on to the west end. The second stage was delayed by the First World War, but in 1936 the transepts and the first bay of the nave were added, and the iron and window frames of the first Cathedral were used for a third time to make vestries at the west end.

The cloisters were built after the Second World War as a war memorial, when Father Victor, C.R., was Dean of the Cathedral. In the bays of the cloisters are memorials erected by the British South Africa Company, the Pioneers of Rhodesia, the British South Africa Police, the Rhodesia Regiment, the Rhodesia African Rifles, the Navy League, the British Empire Service League, the Royal Air Force, the Southern Rhodesia Signals, the Order of St. John, the British Red Cross, the Doctors of Rhodesia and the Nurses of Rhodesia. There are also memorials to Alfred Beit, Lord Llewellyn Governor General 1953-1957) and to Lord Robins. An Illuminated book records the names of the fallen in both wars and in the south-west corner of the cloisters is the Chapel of All Souls, furnished in memory of Dame Reneira Stanley and her husband, Sir Herbert Stanley, Governor of Rhodesia from 1934-1942. Here also is a beautiful copper memorial to Father Victor in the shape of a map of Africa, which he served so devotedly for very many years. This open-air chapel is used regularly and the Holy Eucharist is celebrated here every Friday morning.

Meanwhile the space in the Cathedral for the congregation was becoming more and more cramped, especially at festivals and for Civic Services, but the very necessary extension of the nave was postponed while the parish churches of Belvedere, Hatfield, Highlands, Mabelreign, Marlborough, Rhodesville and Waterfalls were built. A peal of bells was given to the Cathedral by an anonymous friend and to house them the Bell Tower was built in 1962. From then onwards a committee headed by the Dean (the Very Revd. Gonville ffrench-Beytagh), the Governor (Sir Humphrey Gibbs) and Sir Frederick Crawford of the B.S.A. Company worked indefatigably to raise the money to complete the building and to "Bridge the Gap" between the tower at the north-west corner of the site and the existing building. Sir Humphrey Gibbs laid the foundation stone of the final extension on July 21st, 1963, and the nave was completed in 1964, almost exactly fifty years after the building of the Cathedral was begun.

On December 20th, 1964, the bells rang joyously from the tower when a great Service of Thanksgiving was held in the completed building, attended by the Governor, Archbishop Paget, the Bishop of Mashonaland, the Right Revd. Cecil Alderson, the Dean and a vast congregation of Christians from the Province of Central Africa and beyond its borders. The Bishop, in his sermon, called for a renewal of baptismal vows on the part of every Christian in the Diocese so that a worthy offering might be made when the building was consecrated in 1966.

The newly completed Cathedral has a total length of 260 feet and extends to the very limit of the site between Baker and Union Avenues. In memory of Lord Robins, the British South Africa Company has given a magnificent copper roof to the whole building, which gleamed richly in the sunshine when it was first laid, but has now weathered to a deep brown.

On entering the Cathedral from the great west doors, the first sight to arrest the attention of the pilgrim is the immersion font which symbolises the life of Christ. The living water runs out of a tall rock of Rhodesian granite and falls, in a continuous movement, into an oval pool, lined with green mosaic, with a representation of a fish on its floor with its Christian associations. The rock above has a basin scooped out and here, at noon on most Sundays, babies are baptised. As yet there has been no baptism by immersion but this could be at any time, and meanwhile the pool demonstrates, by the three steps down into the water, and the three steps up out of the font, the threefold renunciation of the world, the flesh and the devil, and the three baptismal promises.

Proceeding up the central aisle, the pulpit is seen on the left and the lectern on the right, and immediately under the dome, the High Altar. At the time of writing the final internal arrangements are being carried out, involving alterations to floor levels, the furnishing of the Lady Chapel behind the High Altar, over which it is hoped to place a baldachino. The final ordering of the interior shows the influence of the Liturgical movement. East of the High Altar the Chancel contains the Choir with the organ sunk in a central position. The east end of the Choir is closed off by the Bishop's Throne centrally placed, looking down the nave and across the High Altar, and flanked on each side by the Canons' Stalls. Beyond the Choir the Lady Chapel occupies the east end of the Cathedral and there the Blessed Sacrament is reserved.

Two Chapels lie north and south of the Choir. St. George's Chapel on the north side houses many articles of historical interest, including the Pioneer Cross made by Canon Balfour on the arrival of the Pioneer Column, from cedar wood. He had to use the best available materials and the cross is made from cigar boxes and studded with copper nails, and was used in the first thatched church. High up on the north wall hang standards and flags used in battle.

In the Chapel on the south (Cloister) side are two altars. Behind one is a small stained glass window depicting Bernard Mizeki, the first Rhodesian martyr, and behind the other a memorial window to Mother Cecil, C.R. The reredos in this chapel is of brocade used in Westminster Abbey at the coronation of King George VI.

Let into one of the central pillars under the dome is a stone from Canterbury, bearing the Canterbury Cross and near the door to the Cloisters, set into the wall is a fourteenth century carved stone from Salisbury Cathedral in Wiltshire. Looking down the Nave the pilgrim turns to see a fine rose window in modern glass which has been in place for less than a year.

As we go forward to the consecration of our Cathedral this year there is great thanksgiving in our hearts for the generosity of those who have made this gigantic project possible, for those who through its history have served our Lord devotedly in however humble a way, and we pray that those of us who worship here now may be worthy of our trust in the years to come.

MARGARET RAVEN.

CATHEDRAL RECORDS

Two 7-inch E.P. records are now available of the Canterbury Cathedral Choir and Andrew Lyle, the former chorister soloist.

1. THE CHOIR:
   Agnus Dei from Mozart's *Litaniae Laurentanae in D* (K.195) with Andrew Lyle as treble soloist.
   Psalm 4.
   The Lord's Prayer.
2. Recit. and Area from J. S. Bach's *Cantata No. 21.*
   Agnus Dei from Mozart's *Mass No. 16 in C* (K.317).

Available from the Friends' Office.

THE CALENDAR OF FLOWERS IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

A COLOURFUL GIFT FOR FRIENDS AT HOME AND ABROAD

This year the Friends have launched a completely new venture in producing a Calendar of Flowers in Canterbury Cathedral. It consists of six beautiful colour pictures of interior views of the Cathedral with flower arrangements by Mrs. Mowll, who has been in charge of the flower decoration since 1952. Each illustration represents two months, with the seasons of the year portrayed in sequence. It costs 7/6 and the enclosed order form with this copy gives the postage rates for home and overseas mail.

This is a "must" for every Christmas present list, as a colourful harbinger of goodwill, as a symbol of the deeper beauty of its subject, and to bring pleasure to those who possess it, all through the year.

If Friends send names and addresses, on the enclosed order form, of those to whom they wish it to be sent, calendars will be mailed directly.

Christmas card lists are also enclosed in this issue. There are a number of new cards available, including one which represents a page from the *Canterbury Psalter*, by courtesy of King's College, Cambridge.

For Friends abroad this calendar will be available also for the year 1968. Will any Friends who wish to receive this please fill in the form below and return to this office. The calendars for 1968 will be available from March 1967.

Please send me .... copies of "The Calendar of Flowers in Canterbury Cathedral" to:—

....

....

....

The cost of the Calendar is 7s. 6d. and postage and packing is:—

Abroad:	Surface	... ...	1s. 0d.
	Airmail	... ...	5s. 0d.

Except airmail to:—

Australia, New Zealand and Philippines ... 5s. 9d.

NEW FRIENDS—GREAT BRITAIN

R. Whyte	Stratford-upon-Avon
Miss E. M. Daniell	Canterbury
Mrs. E. Molesworth	Ashford
Miss A. V. S. Daniel	Kew, Surrey
Miss K. Smailes	Folkestone
Mr. and Mrs. G. E. Holland	Canterbury
W. Nichol	Whitstable
C. A. S. Barker	Folkestone
F. S. L. Lyons	Canterbury
The Reverend and Mrs. W. T. H. Sampson	Ashford
Miss D. M. Whiting	Faversham
Miss G. M. Whiting	Faversham
Miss J. Adlam	West Wickham
Mr. and Mrs. R. Anderson	Dover
Miss M. C. L. Armstrong	London
The Reverend and Mrs. W. F. Kemp	Canterbury
Mrs. A. S. Inglis	Eastbourne
Mrs. M. F. Hallet	Whitstable
Mrs. R. M. Maclean	London
Mr. and Mrs. J. W. R. Adams	Canterbury
Miss K. E. Smith	Canterbury
Miss B. W. Becket	Sidcup
Miss F. Clout	Folkestone
Miss E. Brammer	Broadstairs
Miss G. F. Haynes	Whitstable
Miss K. M. Martin	Broadstairs
Miss V. A. Grantham	Chartham
J. L. Hayes	Canterbury
A. H. J. Parsons	London
*Miss F. E. Bartlett	Oxford
Mrs. L. F. Baily	Whitstable
Mrs. J. Pain	Folkestone

Miss F. Blackburn	Minster
C. J. Dudley	Canterbury
Miss D. M. Mess	Deal
Mrs. L. R. Denning	Whitstable
Mrs. J. Priestman	Maidstone
Mr. and Mrs. D. Miller	Canterbury
Miss M. K. B. Wilkins	Cranbrook
A. F. Mason	Worthing
R. J. Hilton	Harrogate, Yorkshire
H. R. Herbert	Crow-borough
J. P. Langston	Reading
Miss M. Kirk	Canterbury
Miss J. M. Robinson	Doncaster
Mrs. K. Scarborough	Canterbury
F. E. Wilson	Durham
E. T. Howell	Cardiff
S. W. E. Burgess	Twickenham
L. H. Jaques	Winchester
Mrs. B. Duce	Canterbury
Mrs. M. Holt	Reading
Mrs. B. M. Roberts	Margate
Mrs. M. H. Ellis	Folkestone
A. J. Garner	Birchington
R. Stewart Newiss	Keighley, Yorkshire
Mrs. H. A. Pye	Canterbury
Mr. and Mrs. J. Sanderson	Chartham
Canon L. F. Wilmot	Canterbury
*L. Woodford	Westgate
Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Barnes	Walmer
Miss M. M. C. Lambert	London, W.1
Miss V. F. D. Foster	Littlebourne

* transferred from Youth Friends

NEW FRIENDS—ABROAD

AUSTRALIA

R. W. Gregory	Victoria
Miss M. Stewardson	Victoria
Mrs. D. E. Stafford	Victoria

CANADA

The Misses Saunderson	Ontario
The Reverend G. Moffatt	Ontario

MALAWI

Mrs. E. Beesley	Zomba

NEW ZEALAND

E. R. Haden	Auckland

SOUTH AFRICA

A. D. Edge	Uitenhage
The Reverend and Mrs. N. Aldridge	Uitenhage
Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Boliter	Uitenhage
Archbishop Edward F. Paget	Natal
J. B. Thompson	Cape Province
Major J. B. Noel	Northern Transvaal
E. T. Whitford	Grahams-town

THE WASHINGTON CATHEDRAL VISIT

A MEETING OF THE FRIENDS OF WASHINGTON AND CANTERBURY

A tour of English Cathedrals was organised from Washington last spring, and the Canterbury Friends were delighted to meet seventy-six of their opposite numbers from the States. The party consisted of Friends of Washington, from many parts of America, and they undertook a marathon itinerary of study and pilgrimage in Britain.

For the first two weeks after arrival they battled through arctic weather conditions more severe than anything we could remember in April, which must have reduced their visit to an endurance test rather than a pleasurable pilgrimage. In spite of this they arrived smiling and appreciative of all that they had seen, and enthusiastic to have their finale at this Cathedral. After having visited Rochester Cathedral on the Sunday afternoon, they spent the night and the next day in Canterbury. In the morning, after attending service in the Chapel of Our Lady Undercroft they were taken round the Cathedral. They had kindly invited members of the Friends' Council to join them for lunch, and the Canterbury Friends had the pleasure of receiving them later for tea in the dining hall of St. Augustine's College. We are most grateful to the acting Warden of the College for this privilege, for it was an outstanding and happy occasion to be able to meet and discuss together our common aims, aspirations and problems on either side of the Atlantic.

The time was all too short—this was agreed by all—and we look forward to the time when they will return for a more leisurely visit, to browse in the history of Canterbury and to have a longer exchange with our people.

There are already many links between Canterbury and Washington, and a testimony of the close rapport which exists between us was touchingly expressed by one of the party pinning the badge of the Jerusalem Cross of Washington Cathedral on the Steward's dress as the party left.

New Friends Abroad *continued*

U.S.A.

Mrs. N. S. Montgomery	Annapolis
Mrs. D. M. Gilman	Massachusetts
Mrs. A. L. Wiener	Grosse Pointe
Mrs. P. A. Agelasto, Jr.	Virginia Beach
Mrs. W. M. Spann	Kansas City
Mrs. D. O. Lacey	Washington
The Reverend J. Easton	California
Miss M. T. East	Iowa
Mrs. F. T. Williams	Iowa
Mrs. W. J. Howard	Washington
Henry B. Veatch	Illinois

CORPORATE

The Cathedral of St. Philip	Georgia, U.S.A.

OBITUARIES

DR. ALAN DON, Former Dean of Westminster

Dr. Alan Campbell Don, K.C.V.O., Dean of Westminster from 1946-1959, spent his last years in Canterbury, and it is fitting that the Friends of the Cathedral should wish to add another tribute to those which have already been paid to a great man. He is remembered, above all, for the individual quality of dedicated service he gave during his long and distinguished career.

From the time when he left Oxford, and his father's jute-manufacturing business in Dundee, each phase of his life after being ordained in 1922 seemed a testing ground of preparation for ever-increasing responsibilities. After ten years as Provost of Dundee he was appointed Chaplain and Secretary to Archbishop Lang. In 1934 he became Chaplain to King George V, in 1936 Speaker's Chaplain, and in 1942 Sub-Dean at Westminster.

When in 1946 he became Dean of Westminster he had the heavy task of restoring the air-raid damage to the fabric of the Abbey and the Precincts—for which he launched, and finally achieved, the appeal for a million pounds. The death of King George VI, with an imminent coronation, imposed greater duties and responsibilities on his shoulders, and the long and meticulous preparation for this involved the whole personnel of the Abbey, with the Dean at their head, for nearly a year. He retired at the age of seventy-five.

In Canterbury, where he spent the last years of his retirement, he was a much loved character in the Precincts. The tall, haggard figure of the dour and hardy Scot had become weakened by the long strains imposed by arduous service, but the sparkle of merriment when he smiled, and his Puckish sense of humour, defied both time and age. The rugged exterior concealed a gentle, warm-hearted spirit which radiated the serenity he had achieved in his long labours. The atmosphere of the Precincts is both poorer and sadder for his loss.

As the "Chronicle" goes to press the death is announced of The Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury and Chairman of the Friends 1931 to 1963. An obituary will appear in the forthcoming publication.

DOROTHY MILLS

Dorothy Mills and Canterbury belonged to each other from the day when she first saw it. It was Ascension Day, 1894, and she was a fifteen-year-old schoolgirl. Her devotion to the Cathedral grew deeper and deeper throughout her life, and was as strong as ever when she died on the 10th July, 1966. Those who knew her here were hardly aware that she had spent over thirty years in Canada and the United States, for she appeared to be so identified with the Cathedral and its Precincts that she might have lived here all her days. In fact she left England in 1900, to teach at a school in Windsor, Nova Scotia, going on from there to New York, where she became head of the History department of the Brearley School. There she took her degree of M.A. at Columbia University in 1915, and there she wrote text books of introduction to the study of history which are still widely used. Letters from old pupils and friends of hers in America show how deep an impression she made on them, both by her character and by her outstanding ability as a teacher. One writes: "I do not suppose anyone else has left such a lasting and inspiring impression on me as Miss Mills. One of the most vivid memories I have is of a visit we made, just before the war, to Canterbury where we had the great pleasure of visiting the Cathedral with her as our guide. Her sense of personal involvement made it even more impressive than its own great beauty and historical position could do alone."

When she retired in 1936, Dorothy Mills came to Canterbury as to her home, and with her sister Mary devoted herself to work for the Cathedral, and for education. In the post war years she undertook the monumental task of organising the guiding of parties of visitors, co-operating with the Dean and Chapter in enlisting a team of skilled guides and herself training them in the technique of their work and imparting to them her own vision of its spiritual purpose; she became secretary of the Women's Guild; she wrote scholarly and graphic booklets about Thomas Becket, Stephen Langton and the Black Prince. She was, in short, ready to do everything that she could, liberally, gladly, with complete loyalty, without any trace of self-assertion. As a wise and good friend to young and old, she won a unique place in their affection and regard.

Those who remember Mary Mills as a member of the Council of the Friends, as those who knew Dorothy Mills as friend and neighbour, will thank God for two very gifted, good, and lovable Christians.

A.S.

GIFTS AND LEGACIES FROM 1st APRIL TO 30th SEPTEMBER, 1966

On behalf of the Dean and Chapter we would like to express gratitude for the following gifts to the Cathedral.

	£	s.	d.
Donations			
Miss M. J. O. Kennedy	4	7	0
Mrs. L. D. Baynes		10	0
St. Edmund's School		10	0
Mrs. G. Whitwell	3	0	0
The Old Stagers	5	0	0
The Reverend Gerald Moffatt	1	0	0
Miss M. Hardie	1	0	0
R. Ingham	5	0	0
The Reverend J. A. Harding	2	14	10
G. H. McKenzie	4	16	11
V. C. Cordingley		10	0
Mrs. P. F. Berkenshaw		10	0
Mrs. F. C. Williams	3	10	3
Miss M. East	4	19	3
Miss D. B. Garstin	1	1	0
Mrs. L. Love	1	0	0
Mrs. Ford	1	0	0
R. C. Saxby	1	0	0
Miss J. Gilchrist	1	0	0
Nightingale School, Woodford		10	0
Nautical College, Pangbourne	3	2	6
C. Powell-Cotton, Discretionary Trust	25	0	0
Assheton Smith, Charitable Trust Fund	2	2	0
Bexley Technical High School	3	0	0
Miss J. Harvey		10	0
Mrs. H. Hastings	5	5	0
Major-General H. J. Peckham	$10		
Mrs. J. R. English	$5		
The Bell Harry Tower			
Mr. and Mrs. C. Thorpe	8	8	0
Miss B. A. C. Knight	1	10	0
Miss G. J. Weinberg	5	0	0
Harold Bangert	1	5	0
Miss M. Shether		10	0
Belvedere Chapter No. 503	2	2	0
Cloister Bays			
Lady Townend	100	0	0
Mrs. Jamieson	91	17	6
Festival			
Miss R. Thacker	1	0	0
V. C. Cordingley	1	5	0
Mrs. Hall		11	6
Doctor and Mrs. Lloyd Roberts	1	0	0
Mr. and Mrs. H. A. Dawson	1	0	0
Miscellaneous			
The Reverend Halliwell L. Duell (Organ Fund)	$200		
Lady Knatchbull-Hugessen (St. Anselm's Chapel)	10	0	0
H. S. Head (Table—Chapter House)	50	0	0
S. J. Rowbotham (Altar Linen)	5	0	0
Dover College (School Collection)	6	9	0
Miss Leary (In Memory of Miss Edwards)	1	1	0
St. Edmunds (hire of costumes)	1	0	0

REQUESTS FOR GIFTS TO THE CATHEDRAL

The Dean and Chapter would be grateful if the following gifts might be made through the Friends. A single gift or a subscription towards any of these would be deeply appreciated.

The cost of restoration to the Hubert Walter Staff estimated at £100.

The recovering of the kneelers in the Quire estimated at £215.

The cost of treatment for the brass altar-rails of the High Altar and the lectern to obviate the necessity for daily cleaning estimated at £430.

An altar frontal for the Eastern Crypt.

The reconstruction of the aperture and lighting of the chained Bible in the North Quire Aisle.

The Friends have now subscribed £25,000 to the Bell Harry restoration, and gifts towards the ultimate cost of £45,000 would be greatly appreciated.

* * *

If a kind Friend should wish to give one or two window boxes to the office for the upstairs windows, it is felt that flowers in these would add a note of cheer.

The entire stock of theatrical costumes has now been moved to the room which was the former Friends' office in the Gateway, and is in the care of two wardrobe mistresses, Mrs. Heather and Mrs. Thurgood. If Friends would kindly give any of the following towards the maintenance of these we should be most grateful:—

One or two electric irons.

A quantity of moth-balls or paradichlorbenzine.

Large polythene clothes bags—half or full length, or smaller sizes for hats and shoes.

Coat hangers.

More racks for hanging costumes are still required and if any local firm is replacing unwanted stock of this nature we should be grateful to receive stands on which to hang the costumes.

Gifts and Legacies—*continued*

Legacies	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Agatha S. Barlow	25	0	0
Miss K. M. P. Brown		14	9

THE CALENDAR

Thanks are also due to the following Friends who have underwritten the cost of £50 each for the colour blocks in the new calendar:—

The Viscountess Broome
The Earl Kitchener of Khartoum and of Broome
The Honourable Charles Kitchener
Mrs. D. K. Coote
J. B. Bickersteth

DEATHS OF FRIENDS

We record with reverence and honour the deaths of the following Friends:—

Battles, Mrs. L. M.	Canterbury
Baker, Lady	Gravesend
Bourne, Miss G. St. Hill	Farnham
Burrough, G. H.	Canterbury
Carter, Mrs. S. W.	Canterbury
Chandler, Miss E. H.	Marlborough
Crittall, Miss W. M.	Robertsbridge
Corfield, The Hon. Mrs., O.B.E.	Wokingham
Cox, Miss M.	Tunbridge Wells
Davies, Mrs. D. A.	Sittingbourne
Denby, Miss E.	Hythe
Don, The Reverend Dr. A. C., K.C.V.O.	Canterbury
Dunbar of Kilconzie, Mrs. W. H. G.	Herne Bay
Easton, Mrs.	Westgate-on-Sea
Edwards, Miss C.	Canterbury
Fairbairn, Mrs. G.	Folkestone
Gardener, E. W.	Canterbury
Golding, Miss S.	Folkestone
Hawkins, W.	Ramsgate
Henlé, Mrs. R.	Seaford
Hewett, Captain, G. G. P., C.B.E., R.N.	Folkestone
Hodges, Miss M.	Sittingbourne
Ilderton, J.	Whitstable
Inglis, The Rev. A. F., O.B.E., H.C.F.	Eastbourne
Killick, Miss W. H.	Canterbury
Knott, Mrs. D.	Herne Bay
Laughton, Miss M. L.	Dover
Livett, Mrs. F. M.	Canterbury
Matson, Major C., M.C.	Winchester
Mattinson, Mrs. B. M.	Maidstone
Maycock, Miss A. H. F.	Canterbury
Mead, B. R.	Bristol
Mills, Miss D., M.A.	Canterbury
Moon, Mr. A.	Ipswich
Morrish, Mrs. A. G.	London, S.W.1.
Oswald, Miss E.	St. Margaret's Bay
Palmer, Mrs. R. I.	London, S.W.12
Pembrook, Mrs. J. G.	Canterbury
Pelling, T.	Ashford, Kent
Prankerd, Mrs. E.	Canterbury
Price, Mrs. B.	Westgate-on-Sea
Rhodes, Miss E. D. Weir	Margate
Russell, Miss A. A., M.B.E.	Haslemere
Shannon, Miss L. M.	Torquay
Smailes, Mrs. M. E.	Folkestone
Smith, Mrs. H. M.	Weybridge
Sloane, Miss H. M.	Ashford
Speirs, C. W., J.P.	New Malden
Steadman, Captain, S. J.	Folkestone
Sutcliffe, Miss N. E.	Margate
Tournay, H. M.	Johannesburg, South Africa
Tremaine, Miss O.	Folkestone
Trousdell, Lt.-Col. A. J., D.S.O., M.C.	Meopham
Vickers, Mrs. B.	Walmer
Warwick, Miss D. M.	Hythe
Watson, Dr. M. B.	Canterbury
Woods, Mrs. C. E.	Canterbury

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Please complete this or the Covenant form overleaf.

To: The Steward, The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral,
3 The Precincts, Canterbury.

I wish to become a Member of THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

I attach my cheque for *£ : s. d. being the amount of the subscription for one year.

Usual Signature..

Full Name...

Address...

....

Date...

The life subscription is £25.

*The minimum annual subscription is one pound and cheques should be made payable to "THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL".

BANKER'S ORDER

To (*Name and address of Bank*)

....

....

Please pay to the account of THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL at Lloyds, Canterbury, the sum of £ : s. d. on.. next, and annually thereafter on the same date.

Date... Signed...

THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL
DEED OF COVENANT

I (Full Christian Names and Surname, in block capitals)

....

of (Address, in block capitals)

....

in the County of .... HEREBY COVENANT with the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral that for a period of seven years from the date hereof or during my life (whichever shall be the shorter) I will pay annually to The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral such sum as will, after deduction of Income Tax leave in the hands of The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral the net sum of (1) £.., such sum to be paid from my general fund of taxed income so that I shall receive no personal or private benefit in either of the said periods from the above-mentioned annual sum or any part thereof.

IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this (2) .... day of .... 19......

Signed, sealed and delivered by the said Covenantor.

(Signature of Covenantor)...

In the presence of:

(Signature of Witness)..

Address of Witness..

....

Occupation of Witness..

NOTES

1. Insert the actual amount you wish to give each year, NOT the gross amount that will be received after Income Tax has been recovered.
2. This date must be earlier than the date of the first payment.
3. Cheques to be made payable to The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral.

Kentish Gazette]

His Beatitude Justinian, the Patriarch of the Rumanian Orthodox Church, lost in contemplation of the cathedral, as he sees it for the first time. He came to England for a week in July, as the guest of Dr. Ramsey.

Kentish Gazette

In April of this year a plaque was erected in the foyer of the Marlowe Theatre to the memory of the late Mr. Christopher Hassall, the author, poet and playwright who lived and died in Canterbury. The plaque, designed and inscribed by Mr. William Day of the Canterbury College of Art, has the following inscription:—

"Christopher Hassall, 1912-1963, author, playwright, poet and librettist, was closely associated with the management of this theatre."

It was unveiled by Mrs. Hassall in the presence of the Mayor and the Chairman of the Marlowe Theatre Committee, both of whom paid tribute to the debt Canterbury owed to this man for his contribution to drama and the theatre.

Mr. Hassall is remembered also as a Friend of the Cathedral, an active member of the Council and as the author of "Christ's Comet", produced at Friends' Festival 1938 and repeated in 1958.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

(The prices quoted do NOT include postage)	s.	d.
Annual Reports, 1928 to 1965, Chronicles, 1-60, "Chough" 2-10.		
Canterbury Papers (Fully Illustrated):—		
No. 2. "Chapel of St. Michael and All Angels, The Buffs, and the Ship's Bell of H.M.S. *Canterbury* (revised 1960) ...	1	6
No. 3. "Of the Burning and Repair of the Church of Canterbury in the Year 1174" from the Latin of Gervase, a Monk of the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, edited by Charles Cotton, O.B.E., F.R.C.P.E., M.R.C.S. (Eng.) ...	2	0
No. 4. "The Roof Bosses of the Cathedral Church of Christ, Canterbury", C. J. P. Cave (Reprinted 1961)	2	6
No. 5. "Sir Thomas More", Claude Jenkins, D.D., F.S.A. ...	2	0
No. 6. "The Paintings of Canterbury Cathedral", E. W. Tristram, D.LITT. (Reprinted 1960)	2	6
No. 7. "Life and Times of Cranmer", Claude Jenkins, D.D. ...	2	0
No. 8. "The Times of Edward the Black Prince"	2	6
No. 8. (Revised) "Edward, the Black Prince" ... ... (Two volumes of essays on the different aspects of his life and times)	3	0
No. 9. "Canterbury Cathedral Library", Dr. Norman Sykes ...	2	0
No. 10. "The Canterbury Adventure", a history of the Friends, Laurence Irving, O.B.E.	2	6
The Romance of Canterbury Cathedral, by Margaret Babington, O.B.E.	8	6
The Heraldry of Canterbury Cathedral, Vol. I, The Great Cloister, Commander A. W. B. Messenger, R.N.	18	0
Thomas Becket, Dorothy Mills, M.A., Illustrated	2	0
Stephen Langton, Dorothy Mills, M.A., Illustrated	1	6
The Heraldry in Canterbury Cathedral, C. R. Humphery-Smith, F.H.S., A short illustrated guide	2	6
Coats of Arms of the Archbishops of Canterbury. A painting book for children	3	6
The Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral, The Revd. D. Ingram Hill, M.A. A guide to the windows...	3	6
"Bossanyi," Dagmar Hayes, A.T.D., D.A.(Manc.). The life and work of the artist who created the stained glass windows in the south quire transept. With colour illustrations	7	6

POSTCARDS

Examples of the mediaeval glass 6d. each.
Modern Glass by E. Bossanyi, 2 large 9d. each, 2 small 6d. each.
Black and White Postcards 4d. and 6d. each. Coloured Postcards 6d. and 9d.

TRANSPARENCIES

A collection of high quality 2″ × 2″ transparencies. Views of the Cathedral, architectural details and stained glass. One set of eight views 13s. 6d. Individual details and stained glass 2s. 6d. each.

CHRISTMAS CARDS

To Friends at home and abroad who wish to order early, lists of Christmas cards will be sent on application. The printing of the name and address of the sender can be arranged for a small sum.

All profits from the sale of the above are devoted to the preservation of the fabric and the historic beauty of the Cathedral.

CONTENTS

PAGE

PATRONS, OFFICERS AND COUNCIL 2

EDITORIAL 3

A PROPOSED TOUR OF FRENCH CATHEDRALS 4

THE VALUES OF ART IN AN EXPANDING WORLD, BY SIR KENNETH CLARK ... 5

A COMMEMORATIVE SERMON—BISHOP BELL, BY CANON CHARLES SMITH ... 16

FESTIVAL 22

AUDITED BALANCE SHEET 23

BOOK REVIEW, BY M. KINKEAD-WEEKES 24

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH, SALISBURY, RHODESIA, BY MARGARET RAVEN ... 26

CATHEDRAL RECORDS 28

CALENDAR 29

NEW FRIENDS 30

NEW FRIENDS, ABROAD—continued 31

WASHINGTON CATHEDRAL VISIT 31

OBITUARY—DR. ALAN DON 32
DOROTHY MILLS 33

GIFTS AND LEGACIES 34

REQUESTS FOR GIFTS 35

DEATH OF FRIENDS 36

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP AND BANKER'S ORDER 37

DEED OF COVENANT 38

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. *Frontispiece.* Calendar of Flowers in Canterbury Cathedral.
2. The Archbishop presents an illuminated address to Mr. and Mrs. Shaw.
3. Bishop Bell, Founder of the Friends.
4. Her Royal Highness Princess Marina declaring the Cheker Library open.
5. The Archbishop's Gift to the Pope.
His new Primatial Cross.
6. The Patriarch of Rumania.
7. The Christopher Hassall Memorial Plaque.

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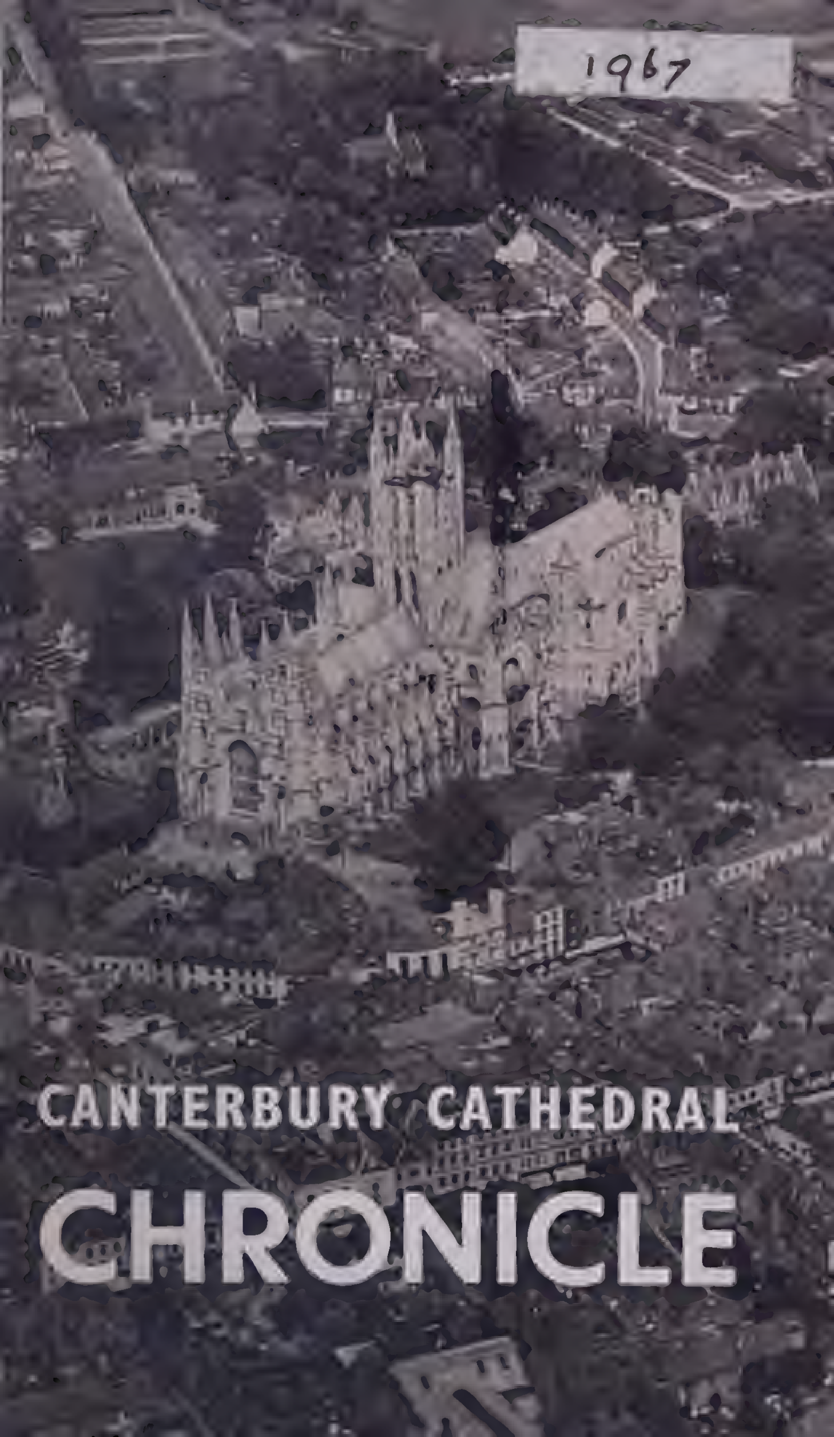
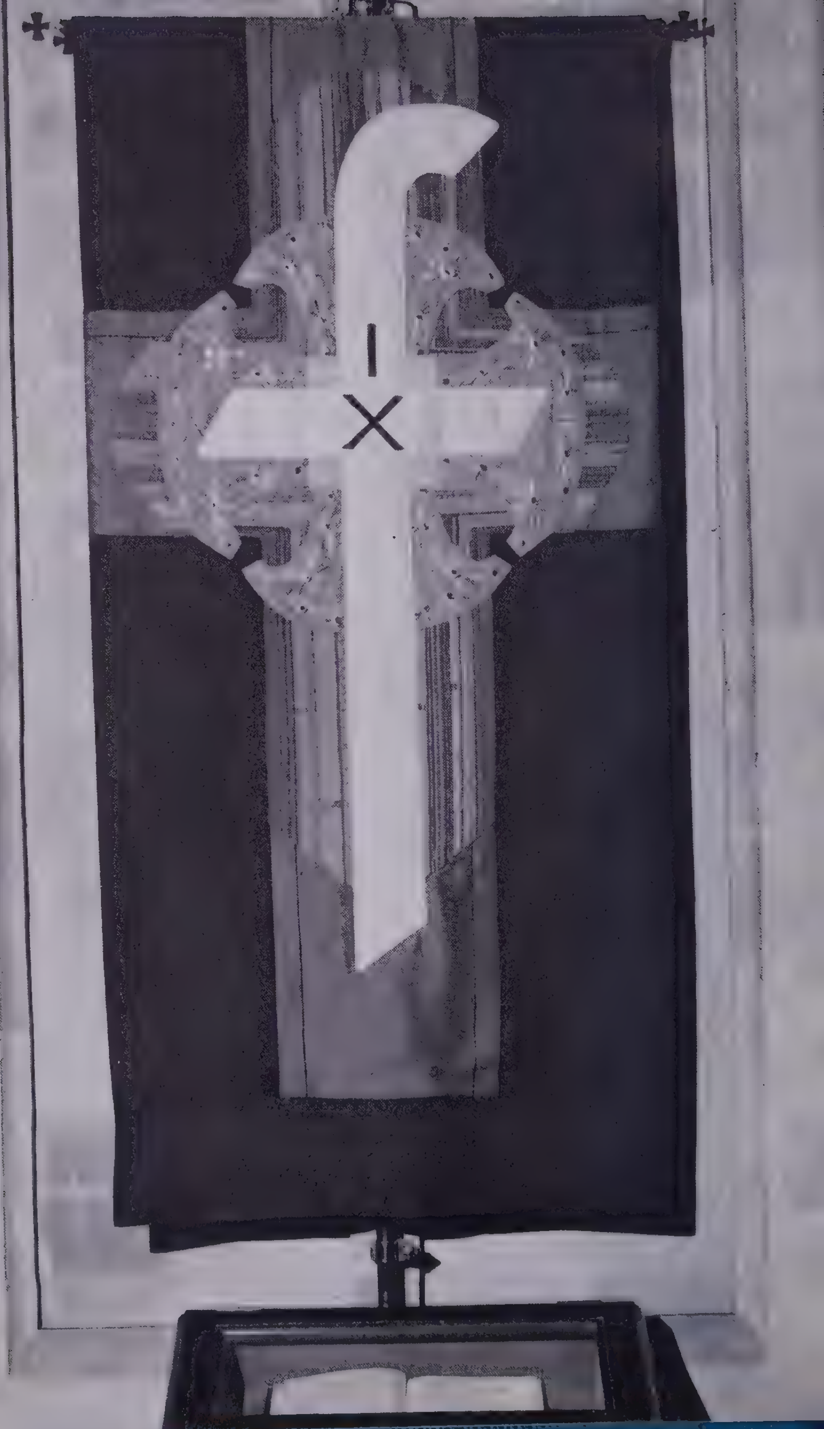


CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL
CHRONICLE

THE CANTERBURY CHRONICLE

1967

No. 62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EDITORIAL

Some time ago the Council of the Friends set up a small editorial committee to supervise the publications for which it was responsible, consisting of Canon Herbert Waddams, Mr. M. Kinkead-Weekes of the University of Kent, and Mr. Michael St. J. Parker of the King's School. As a result of the decisions of this committee some changes are being made in the *Annual Report* and *Chronicle* which we hope will commend themselves to their readers.

In recent years the character of these two publications has become very much alike, although their titles have remained different. The contents have been a mixture of general articles and details of the activities, membership and accounts of the Friends of a necessary, if somewhat unexciting, nature. It has seemed to the committee worth while to try to separate the two sorts of material, and while retaining both, to make them better organised and to present them more clearly. For this purpose we have distinguished between the contents which consist of articles, and the merely factual reports. The latter have been put in a removable form and have not been bound up with the articles, which thus form a magazine on their own more suitable perhaps for keeping as such, whereas the business facts are easier for normal filing. That at any rate is the idea behind the method, and we hope that readers will find it more convenient than having all the material mixed up together.

A second decision of the committee, which is reflected in this present issue, was to try to fix on a theme for each issue, which would be of relevance and interest in relation to cathedral life in general. It would thus be relevant to Canterbury, even if it did not directly deal with Canterbury problems. In this number some aspects of cathedral life and building are considered, and we are grateful to the contributors for so kindly meeting our requests for articles. We hope in this way to provoke new thinking about the place of cathedrals in community life and to examine the contribution which they can make in various ways. It is hoped in the next issue to deal with the part which cathedrals can play in the musical life of the area in which they are situated.

It is not intended that the chosen theme should be exclusive. Other subjects will also be dealt with, and matters of particular concern to Canterbury will continue to appear. By this combination it is hoped to secure a double benefit of both local and general interest.

The Friends' banner standing above the Record of Gifts in the south-west transept

SAINT ANSELM AND CHRISTIAN UNITY

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY'S ADDRESS AT BEC ABBEY

Given at Vespers on April 20th, 1967

Ecclesiasticus 45, 1-3: "A merciful man . . . . beloved by God and men, he made him equal to the glorious saints, and made him strong so that his enemies feared him."

Dear brothers in Christ, in these words the Son of Sirach described Moses of old, but you will see in the words a description of Saint Anselm whom you in Bec and we in Canterbury love and revere. It is for me a deep joy and privilege to join with you, the monks of Bec, in worship and thanksgiving at the feast of the saint. May his prayers help us, as we offer our prayers and praises to God in the communion of his saints.

How many are the aspects of Saint Anselm which come to our minds. We think of him first as a man of learning and philosophy. It was an ambition simply to acquire knowledge, a love for letters, which brought him to Bec as a young student, sitting at Lanfranc's feet. But he grew from the love of letters as a scholar to the love of God as a monk, and he devoted his incomparable powers of thought to the deepest questions about God and the world. Unlike many of the Fathers who preceded him and many of the schoolmen who followed him, he did not fill his books with masses of authorities and quotations. No, he chose great questions and reasoned about them, and perhaps because his books are short they have been the more widely read and loved.

TRUTH AND REASON

One great theme was constantly in his mind, the consistency of the truth of Christian doctrine with human reason. Reason indeed cannot create the truth, reason cannot discover it: the order must always be "fides quaerens intellectum". But because reason in man is a God-given faculty, theology must be capable of commendation to reason. And all those who through the centuries have understood the role of reason in theology can hail Saint Anselm as a guide and a father. It is in virtue of this that you revere him, and many in our Anglican Communion revere him too and try to learn from him still.

Next, we think of Saint Anselm as monk, priest and pastor. Love towards God and humility in God's presence were the root of his tenderness, sympathy, and gentleness, towards those in his spiritual care. I love the opening words of the *Proslogion*: "Come now, little man, put aside your business for a while, take refuge for a little from your tumultuous thoughts; cast off your cares, and let your burdensome distractions wait. Take some leisure for God; rest awhile in him. Enter into the chamber of your mind; put out everything except God and whatever helps you to seek him; close the door and seek him. Say now to God with all your heart: 'I seek thy face, O Lord, thy face I seek'." This spirit of single-minded devotion to God was with Saint Anselm till the day of his death. And with it there went his loving care for people. Like a great teacher he cared for his pupils as much as for the truth, and the method of dialogue in his writings is a symbol of the interplay of mind with mind, of person with person, in the spirit of the proverb of Solomon "as in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man answereth to man". The love and sympathy which he shewed towards his pupils and his fellow monks were shewn no less to both friends and enemies in the tumultuous years of his archiepiscopate. The people of England wanted him to be their Archbishop because on his visits during Archbishop Lanfranc's reign they had found that he loved them.

CLASSICS OF PASTORAL WRITING

The letters of Saint Anselm are among the classics of pastoral writing, filled with sympathy for high and low, rich and poor. Every reader has his favourites among the letters. My favourite is the letter from Bec to Canterbury on behalf of the runaway monk: "Moses, our very dear brother, who, led astray by the unsteadiness of youth, forsook your cloister, has not by God's protection wasted his substance in riotous living .... but, without having exhausted the sustenance of his soul which he had received at your spiritual table, has at last sought refuge in our monastery, as in a well-known harbour". The letter stands in the succession of the apostle Paul's letter to Philemon.

Lastly, we cherish the name of Anselm as the heroic statesman of the Church against the intolerable claims of kings and princes. Like Moses, God "made him strong so that his enemies stood in fear of him". Reluctantly, unwillingly, this scholar saint found himself embroiled in statecraft and contending for the rights of the Church against kings who wanted to override those rights. By constancy and integrity he won battles without the weapons of worldly subtlety or strength. He reflects the words of the psalmist: "Princes have persecuted me without a cause, but my heart standeth in awe of thy word". But no tribute is finer than that of Dante in the twelfth Canto of the *Paradiso*. Describing the twelve stars in the garland of Saint Bonaventure he puts Anselm happily between one who was a type of the teacher of children in the first steps of knowledge, Donatus the grammarian, and two who rebuked kings and queens in the name of truth, Nathan the prophet and John Chrysostom the preacher:—

"Natan Profeta e il metropolitano
Chrisostomo ed Anselmo e quel Donato
che a la prim' arte degno porre mano . . .".

STUDENT AND THINKER

Today we thank God for our saint, Abbot of Bec and Archbishop of Canterbury, philosopher, pastor, heroic confessor for the Church's freedom. Nothing is more attractive than the way in which amidst the tumults of statecraft he retained the mind of the student and the thinker. We remember how on his last Palm Sunday they said to him: "Lord father, we understand that you are going to leave the world for your Lord's Easter court", and Anselm replied: "If His will be so, I shall gladly obey His will. But if He willed rather that I should yet remain amongst you, at least till I have solved a question which I am turning in my mind, about the origin of the soul, I should receive it thankfully, for I know not whether any one will finish it after I have gone".

There is perhaps a similarity in the story of the death of Richard Hooker, the great Anglican divine of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, who also devoted himself to studying the relation of theology with human reason. Hooker, says his biographer, "did not beg a long life of God for any other reason but to live to finish his three remaining books of Polity, and then, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace". But he died "meditating the order and number of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which peace could not be in heaven—and oh that it might be so on earth".

GREETING FROM CANTERBURY

On March 24th, 1966, Pope Paul VI and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who both revere Saint Anselm greatly, signed the common declaration in the church of St. Paul-without-the-Walls, and in it they affirmed their desire "that all those Christians who belong to these two Communions may be animated by these same sentiments of respect, esteem and fraternal love, and in order to help these develop to the full, they intend to inaugurate between the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Communion a serious dialogue which, founded on the Gospels and on the ancient common traditions, may lead to that unity in truth for which Christ prayed". In the spirit of that declaration I bring to you, dear Father Abbot and monks of Bec, my brothers in Christ, love and greeting from Canterbury. As we join together today in gratitude to Almighty God for Saint Anselm we pray that God will bless greatly the monks of Bec and the christian people of Canterbury.

May God help those who belong to the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Communion to grow in mutual love, in practical brotherhood and in theological understanding. May He lead all Christians in the way of unity in holiness and in truth.

LIVERPOOL'S TWO CATHEDRALS

Vere E. Cotton

(Author of *The Book of Liverpool Cathedral*)

During the present century, four major cathedrals have been built in England, at Guildford, at Coventry, and two, the earliest, and the latest, less than a mile apart, in a great northern sea-port, It would be difficult to imagine two buildings, built in the same city, in the same century, and for the same purpose so utterly different in conception, plan, construction and material as Liverpool (Anglican) Cathedral, and the Metropolitan (Roman Catholic) Cathedral of Liverpool. The underlying reason for these differences is not far to seek. Between 1903 when the competition for Liverpool Cathedral was won by the youthful Giles Gilbert Scott and 1960, when a similar competition for the Metropolitan Cathedral was won by Frederick Gibberd, three revolutions had taken place in this country; an economic revolution, which makes it no longer possible to build a large church, let alone a vast cathedral, in stone; an architectural revolution springing from the availability of new materials and new methods of construction, and a liturgical revolution, which with varying emphasis has affected both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches.

When the foundation stone of Liverpool Cathedral was laid in 1904, all these changes lay hidden in the future, and it seemed natural, therefore, that the building on which the diocese was embarking should be in a Gothic style, should have a cruciform plan, medieval but for the absence of minor chapels, and be built of the red sandstone of which abundant supplies were available within the city's boundaries. One of the conditions of the competition had laid down that on special occasions, a congregation of some 3,000 should be accommodated within sight and sound of the preacher, but, owing to a miscalculation when the plans were checked, it was at first thought that Scott's plan failed to comply with this condition. and it was only after a re-check, that the committee was satisfied on this point. Looking back, this requirement was doubly significant: it dictated the scale of the building and for the first time stressed the pulpit and not the altar, as the focal point of a Gothic cathedral in this country, though it is interesting to note that in none of the early published plans is the actual position of the pulpit indicated. What may be called this evangelical bias, was originally achieved without any departure from the normal cruciform plan by simply enlarging the scale, but in 1910, when Scott produced his revolutionary new plan with a central tower and a huge rectangular central space, consisting of the under-tower and the crossings of the double transepts, he not only ensured that the congregation would be accommodated conveniently near the preacher, but unconsciously anticipated the modern liturgical requirements for a centrally situated altar, approachable from all four sides.

Later, Scott made another basic alteration in his plan. Having provided sufficient accommodation for all normal purposes in the central space and adjacent transepts, he felt justified in treating the nave as almost a separate entity, partly closing its eastern end with the Dulverton Bridge, and lowering the level of the floor by four feet, except in the nave aisles which maintain the same level as the central space. As a result, the nave can be used by itself on occasions for which the main body of the cathedral would provide too large, and the Lady Chapel too small, a setting. It is particularly well adapted for musical and dramatic performances with which cathedrals are becoming increasingly associated, though in 1901, when the present cathedral was first mooted, these must have entered little, if at all, into the calculations of its founders.

From the fore-going, it will be appreciated that not the least admirable feature of Scott's cathedral is the adaptability of its plan, for though in date it is the earliest of the four new cathedrals, it is far the best fitted to meet the varied and exacting requirements of today. Guildford, the second in seniority, has a straightforward medieval plan with no hint of the impending liturgical revolution, and Coventry, in spite of its spacious nave, has a cramped choir, and a Lady Chapel which is little more than a wide ambulatory, and unlike Liverpool's detached Lady Chapel, is incapable of being used separately from the main body of the church.

The only rival to the spaciousness of Liverpool's Anglican Cathedral is the Metropolitan Cathedral situated on the same ridge, parallel to the river Mersey which dominates the city. Here, a circular plan has made possible a centrally placed altar, which is in tune with modern ideas of close congregational participation in the service of the Mass. This circular plan does, however, lack the flexibility of Scott's central space, which, supplemented by moveable furniture, can be used in half a dozen different ways, depending on the requirements of a particular service. For choral Communion, a temporary altar is placed at the crossing of the eastern transept, the choir remaining in their usual stalls, but the celebrant and assisting clergy face west. For the Christmas carol services, the choir is usually moved to the under-tower, with the congregation seated facing inwards, as in a college chapel. For concerts, it is normal for the orchestra to be grouped below the nave bridge, with the audience facing west. These are but three examples of the freedom of arrangement conferred by Scott's plan, which a circular plan, with an immoveable central altar cannot possibly provide. Though this is a disadvantage, it must be remembered that in designing his cathedral, Gibberd, unlike Scott, had been severely restricted as to cost, and a circular plan, thanks to modern structural engineering methods, offered an ideal solution of the problem of enclosing the maximum floor area economically. The provision of a central altar was not a condition of the competition, but a corollary to the architect's central plan, a corollary which on liturgical grounds was particularly welcome, as conforming with modern trends and with a memorandum by the Archbishop which had been issued with the competition rules.

Basically, the Metropolitan Cathedral is a translation into a modern idiom of one of the noblest achievements of classical architecture, the Pantheon in Rome. Both are circular, entirely unobstructed by detached piers, and both surrounded by a ring of chapels, but whereas in the Pantheon these are a series of interior recesses alternately rectangular and semi-circular constructed between the inner and outer walls, in the Metropolitan Cathedral they are exterior to the main building, built in Portland stone between the flying buttresses and varying widely in plan. Many people will feel that this irregularity in the treatment of the chapels is the least happy feature of Gibberd's design. Viewed from the outside, they conflict with the austere simplicity of the central mass, and detract from the rhythmic sequence of the great ribs. To a lesser extent, the interior, too, suffers, from the irregular treatment of the chapels, most of which are open to the main body of the cathedral, but some almost completely cut off.

Perhaps the most striking similarity between the Pantheon and the cathedral is the method of lighting. The Pantheon is lit entirely by a single circular "eye", 27 feet in diameter at the crown of the coffered dome and open to the weather; in the case of the Metropolitan Cathedral there is a similar circular opening at the summit of the conical vault, but on this rests a huge lantern filled with stained glass. This by itself would be inadequate to light the whole interior, were it not supplemented by windows round the perimeter. Here it should be explained that the chapels and porches between the buttresses are completely detached from the main structure, except for glass panels which, like the jambs and lintels of a doorway, frame each separate feature. The glass of these panels arranged in abstract pattern suggesting drapery is predominantly blue and green, with occasional flecks of vivid red. This produces a blue haze which on first entry seems to fill the whole interior.

Though there are subsidiary doors on the east and west axes, the main entrance to the cathedral is from the south, through a lofty structure which combines the function of porch and belfry. Approached from Hope Street, this feature reads well with the main building behind it, but when viewed from either flank is strangely detached from it. This is partly accounted for by its triangular outline, the inner slope of which conflicts with that of the conical roof, and partly by its physical separation except for a low connecting corridor, due to the architect's obvious wish to emphasise by contrast the great height of the cathedral's interior. The stringent financial limit laid down in the rules for the competition inhibited anything but the minimum expenditure on decoration; the architect therefore has wisely concentrated his resources on four main features. These are the fibre-glass entrance doors, the centrally hung baldachino, the marble floor, and, most important of all, the stained glass. It is this latter feature which provides the closest field for comparison with Liverpool Cathedral. In both cathedrals, all the windows with very minor exceptions are filled with coloured glass, but whereas the windows of the Metropolitan Cathedral by John Piper and Patrick Reyntiens are entirely abstract in the tradition set by the same two artists at Coventry, those in the Anglican Cathedral form a historical collection representative of the work of many of the leading British stained-glass artists during the present century. Inevitably, these windows vary considerably in quality and in the appeal which they make to modern taste, but a broad difference can be seen between those executed for the choir, the eastern transept, Lady Chapel and Chapter House prior to 1924, and those executed since. Of those belonging to the earlier period, only the great east window and the windows of the north side of the chancel, the north arm of the transept, and the Chapter House survived the war. The others have since been replaced in a much more modern technique. Painting is no longer used to supplement the "natural" colour of the glass, and in figure work, the use of strong black lines and varying widths of leading are the means by which the artist achieves his effects. As a result, the new windows are much more translucent than the old, which by comparison tend, except in very strong light, to look muddy and lacking the jewelled effect which is the glory of Canterbury and Chartres.

Gothic architecture with its delicate tracery is not tuned to abstract patterned glass, nor is modern architecture based on engineering construction a suitable setting for detailed figure design, which, apart from being stylistically inappropriate in the Metropolitan Cathedral, would in the lantern have been visually impracticable owing to its great height above floor level with consequent foreshortening of the panels. Thus it would be foolish to attempt to assess the relative merits of Piper's concrete-set glass in the Metropolitan Cathedral and Carl Edward's leaded glass in the nave of Liverpool Cathedral. Each is perfectly suited to its environment, though it is true to say that some Roman Catholics regret that of the two main contributions which stained glass can make to spiritual awareness—the aesthetic and the instructional—only the former finds expression in the Metropolitan Cathedral. In the Anglican on the other hand, particularly in the immense under-tower windows by the late James Hogan and the nave windows by Carl Edwards and William Wilson, the capacity of vibrant colour to transport the viewer into realms of wonder is supplemented by the iconography, which tells the story of Christianity and recalls those men and women who have borne witness to it by their lives.

The Metropolitan Cathedral has been built in the incredibly short time of five years, such is the virtue of reinforced concrete as a building material, but it represents the culmination of a project first envisaged more than 110 years ago, when Edward Pugin, son of the better known Augustus Pugin, was commissioned to build a Gothic cathedral with central tower and spire, reminiscent of Salisbury, on a site in Everton, then on the outskirts of Liverpool. Of Pugin's cathedral owing to lack of funds only the Lady Chapel (now the Church of Our Lady Immaculate) was ever built.

Eighty years later, in 1933, Archbishop Downey laid the foundation stone of a vast Renaissance cathedral designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens on a central site of nine acres adjoining the university. Had this been completed, it would have rivalled in size St. Peter's in Rome, and made Scott's nearby Anglican cathedral look little bigger than a parish church. Work proceeded slowly on the huge crypt, until early in the course of the second world war it came to a complete stop. After the war, it was increasingly obvious that however magnificent the conception, the execution of Lutyens' design was far beyond the resources of the Archdiocese. Archbishop Downey was loth to abandon the scheme on which he had set his heart, but shortly after his death in 1953, his successor, Archbishop Godfrey, faced with the fact that an original estimate of £3m had risen to nine times this amount, asked Adrian Scott, Sir Giles Scott's brother, to submit a modified version of Lutyens' design in the hopes that it would prove financially feasible. The resultant compromise design pleased no-one, and shortly afterwards Dr. Godfrey was translated to Westminster, leaving the problem unsolved.

His successor, Archbishop (now Cardinal) Heenan, had no doubts as to the action to be taken if Liverpool Roman Catholics were to have the cathedral for which they had worked and waited for so many years. A new architect and a new design must be sought, and this could best be done through an open competition the conditions for which should lay down a maximum cost of £1m. and a maximum building period of ten years. The conditions were published in October, 1959, and the competition attracted nearly three hundred entries. In August the following year Mr. (now Sir) Frederick Gibberd was announced as the winner and work began on the site in 1962. Five years later on Whit Sunday, 1967, the completed cathedral was consecrated.

In many ways the history of Liverpool Cathedral, which goes back to 1885 and Sir William Emerson's design for a domed Gothic building immediately below St. George's Hall, parallels that of the Metropolitan Cathedral, but the time scale is very different. In both cases, the original projects were launched by the first bishops, Goss and Ryle, of the newly-constituted diocese; in both cases these schemes petered out for lack of support, and when the projects were later revived (in the case of the Metropolitan Cathedral after two further abortive attempts) new sites had been chosen and new architects appointed as a result of open competitions. Here the parallel stops, for whereas the Metropolitan Cathedral has been completed within half the time laid down, the Anglican is still unfinished after sixty-three years, eleven of them war years, of continuous work. The earliest forecast for its completion date is 1975.

There are three main factors which have contributed to this great discrepancy in building times: the first derives from their differing architectural styles and materials. As Scott once pointed out, Gothic ornament is not something which can be applied later to a structurally completed building. It is actually part of the structure, and every stone has to be fashioned separately at great cost of time and money. Secondly, a domed, or conically roofed, circular building cannot be built in sections as Liverpool Cathedral has been. Once Gibberd's plans were accepted and building begun, it was a case of all or nothing. This leads to the third factor—finance. It has been the policy of Liverpool Cathedral Committee to maintain a strict relationship between their building programme, and their financial resources, not to embark on a new section without some money in hand and a reasonable confidence that further funds will be available, and to regulate annual expenditure accordingly. Had this same principle been applied to the construction of the Metropolitan Cathedral, many years must have elapsed before work on it could even have begun, and during all that time costs would have been rising. As it is, the total cost laid down in the competition of £1m. had by the date of consecration more than doubled, and today while the Roman Catholic community undoubtedly has a superb cathedral, it has also outstanding a debt of approximately £1½m. This is three times the amount which it is estimated will be needed to complete the Anglican Cathedral, and which the Cathedral Committee hope to raise by an appeal to be launched next spring, when the second bay of the nave is opened.

It would be invidious and useless to attempt to assess in terms of comparative excellence Liverpool's two cathedrals; one is the last flowering of the Gothic Revival, the other the first truly modern cathedral to be built in this country, for Coventry is at best but a brilliant compromise between old and new. From the outside, some will prefer the restrained grandeur of Scott's Vestey Tower, others the stark simplicity of Gibberd's circular cathedral on its huge rectangular podium one-third of which covers Lutyens' crypt. As regards the interior, the Metropolitan Cathedral probably makes the more immediate impact, and Liverpool Cathedral the more lasting; the former reveals its grandeur at first sight, the latter must be explored to yield its full riches.

If Bacon's well-known aphorism about houses may be paraphrased, churches are built to worship in and not to look at, and the worshipper who enters either of these great buildings must be exceptional who does not feel both humbled by their majesty and exalted by their beauty.

WHAT IS A CATHEDRAL?—AND WHAT FOR?

by Geoffrey Beck

I must start by declaring my interest—and my prejudices. The base for my ministry is a cathedral, but it is Coventry Cathedral. Some look at Coventry with undue adulation and excitement, whilst others raise an eyebrow of disapproval.

But I am also the odd man in—so far as the Church of England is concerned—the only Free Church minister so far on the staff of a cathedral, albeit not paid with any Anglican monies. I was ordained to the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments in the Congregational Church, but there are limitations upon the exercise of that ministry in the cathedral and the Anglican diocese, even though I have a certain freedom and authority under the Gospel in the Chapel of Unity and amongst the Free Churches. You might therefore fear that it is with slightly jaundiced eyes that I look through rose-coloured spectacles and with some intimacy at one cathedral at least.

I prefer to regard myself as a Reformed Churchman or Orthodox Dissenter in the pattern of British church history, rather than either of those misleading titles, nonconformist or free churchman. But be that as it may, my conditioned prejudice is that I was not brought up to think of cathedrals as essential to the Christian faith. Naturally I have been inspired by the architecture of many and uplifted by the music of some, whilst envying the reputed leisurely speed of life of Canons Residentiary. At times cathedrals have spoken to me of the majesty of God and the pageantry of history, but the memorials and banners of bloody as well as spiritual warfare have revealed nothing to me of the love of Christ and the outgoing faith of his caring people. A longish ministry in a cathedral city associated with an ancient university gave little experience to modify this kind of impression.

Maybe I was ill-prepared for the quite unexpected and unsought invitation which sent me to Coventry, despite twenty-six years of ecumenical education. Before 1965, if I had heard Canon Roger Lloyd asserting the "belief of all kinds of people, whether Church people or not, that cathedrals have something to give, which perhaps no other kind of institution can match",* any assent I might have given would have been very tongue-in-cheek, I fear: it was hard to see their concerned relationship to today's world. I was not aware that there was a lively endeavour in partnership with the local church to learn how to interpret the Gospel of Incarnation, Crucifixion and Resurrection so that it may be seen as the clue to life and the hope of the world.

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* At a Conference of Deans and Provosts of Cathedrals in Britain, held at Coventry Cathedral 22nd-25th April, 1966.

Are cathedrals, in fact, places where you expect to find an understanding of the world in which the Church is set in mission? Yet without this, are not liturgy and theology in danger of becoming barren?

At Coventry I have begun to learn about the potential not only of cathedrals, but also of other large central churches that are set in the midst of large urban conurbations—which cathedrals often are not. These others seldom have any claim to architectural beauty, but they can usually luxuriate in a glorious past. Coventry not only had a lot of its past destroyed ("To the Glory of God this Cathedral Burnt November 14, 1940") but has the embarrassing asset of strong central churches of all denominations.

"A cathedral is the Mother Church of the diocese." I recognise the truth of this, but most Anglican readers can spell out the expectation of that statement better than I. They know their Anglican calendar and the big occasions when the Bishop is on parade with the cathedral church more or less filled with people from the parishes. There are also the traditional civic occasions, if not also some more dubious erastian celebrations. There are relationships, one hopes, with diocesan staff, and links between parishes and cathedral ministry. Perhaps even, where there is a discernible and committed cathedral congregation as in Coventry, there is a live relationship of groups of lay Christians going into the parishes. Such a congregation may even become humble partners in a city council of churches; but here I feel the ice is getting thin!

I am sure that a cathedral today should not exist only for its own communion, nor only for Christians. Yet as soon as mother adopts other children, or even takes up tentatively a few "outside" interests, however enriching to her life experience, there are those who complain that the family is being neglected. There may be little evidence of such neglect beyond the normal human frailties, but the inevitable logic of such an outcome is self-evident to the parochially minded. Any parish minister worth his salt has had the same criticisms cast at him—yet if the maternal analogy is to be pressed, she might claim to expect that the children will move out from her shadow, growing to an independence which comes to be a mutual responsibility of shared experience of worship and service, which is a proclamation of the Gospel through the Church to the world.

"The numbers of people who come in at our doors for worship, and a thousand other things, seem steadily to increase." So, again, said Canon Roger Lloyd. These visitors are, of course, Christians of all traditions as well as non-Christians, from Britain and from overseas. A little over romantically, perhaps, they are sometimes described as pilgrims. It is said also of the mounting number of parties and individuals who visit the Protestant Community of

Taizé in France, as well as of groups to the Holy Land. After all, perhaps the historic Canterbury Pilgrims were incidentally forerunners of modern tourism. Anyone visiting a place of holy associations is a kind of pilgrim, I suppose, whether or not they consciously know what it is that they have set out to see. From my own recent experience, what did I seek, with my family or friends, in Rheims, Prague, Vienna, Speyer, Westminster or Coventry?

Rather than suggest an answer, I try to relate contemporary thought about the Servant Church to the role of cathedrals with their larger or smaller stream of visitors,—but always a stream in this so mobile age. We might regard them as pilgrims and sojourners in a strange land who are set out on the journey of life somewhat unconsciously in the same mind as Abram. They seek a city, whether or not they acknowledge the search, and they have journeying needs. They may well need assurance that this is God's world in which it is right to feel at home, and yet at the same time yearn for the City in the Kingdom. Should not a cathedral minister to this condition through its appearance, its staff, and its activities? We do not do this by proclaiming that we have all the answers, or even by pretending that we think we ought to know them. Rather do we confess ourselves to be fellow-pilgrims. Hospitality to those who for a short time are with us on the way is a natural courtesy, even though some may disturb the cloistered peace we like to associate with cathedrals. There are often opportunities to be made when we can learn from their experience of life—their joys and achievements, as well as their frustrations and sorrows. It may need no *words* of ours to point them to what we have discovered of hope and truth and love in Jesus Christ. I was impressed by the Dane who said at one cathedral, "There is an open door here", and he opened his arms as he said it. It spoke to him of Christ rather than of the Church of England.

I suspect that we at present know little about how to do this, and nor do we often know when we are succeeding. But every local congregation of the People of God needs to learn about this. After all, it is in relationship with other Christians, which ought to mean the community of the Church, that we learn what the love of God is like in our own experience; for most of us the preached Word of the Gospel needs to become incarnate in personal relationships. "Love one another as I have loved you." This is quite a part of what it means to be the Body of Christ on earth.

There are all kinds of directions in which this needs to be worked out, and this brings me to the heart of what I think I am learning to recognise as a vital role for a cathedral today. This is to be a laboratory for Christians. (Not just for Anglican clergy or parishes, nor for all the churches, but for Christians who may be churched or unchurched in their quest for truth in Christ today.)

A laboratory is a place for research and experiment. It must find ways of examining in detail problems thrown up in day to day life and many seemingly fruitless experiments may have to be tried out before possible solutions or new insights are discovered. It can be a help if the odd member of a research team has a touch of genius, such as enabled Fleming to see in the mouldiness of the experiment "gone wrong" the clue to what became penicillin. (In the Church we sometimes recognise them as prophets and honour them in a later age.) Equally important for any laboratory is the means of communicating or marketing the discoveries, or perhaps simply of creating a demand for the product to be manufactured, or for the service to be set in being and used.

To explain the sense in which a cathedral might become a laboratory for Christians it is necessary to suggest areas of research and ways in which it could be carried out. These areas will on the one hand be common to any cathedral and on the other have particular relationship to its own environment and the nature of the diocesan region.

For example, worship and pastoral psychology, evangelism and Christian education need to be seen in relation to the local industrial, commercial or rural community; opportunities in relation to the arts, government, or international contacts vary greatly; all needs to be in a context of a truly biblical theology and some understanding of developments in sociological insights. (I am not proposing a series of mini- and pseudo-universities or seminaries, even though ministerial training might well be related to any such developments; at least Coventry experience would lend support to such a notion.)

It is a truism today to insist that the Church must take account of the contemporary process of secularisation as also of the impact of rapid urbanisation on town and country alike. In this era of great social change and enquiry into truth, in which President Kennedy told us that nearly ninety per cent of all scientists that have ever lived are still living, the Holy Spirit stirs the Church to question its own structures and its manner of presenting the truth which is in Christ. Indeed, it would not be the first time that God's Word is being spoken to us through events seemingly far removed from the people of God; after all the whole cosmos is His and He made it. This at least is our faith: what about our works?

Chaplains in industry or commerce are like other ministers in needing to live alongside people quite a long time before they can be effective pastors. Still more they insist that it may require years of simply listening to the views and questions of that sector of the world, followed by thought and long discussion away from the workshop, before they begin dimly to perceive the Word they can intelligibly preach as opportunity arises. A cathedral could provide the community of colleagues in other disciplines of experience in which company the wrestling of mind and spirit can be carried on.

The teacher-chaplain, call him what you will, in the educational world of science and technology has a responsibility to teachers and students alike which requires the possession of skills related to theirs as well as his own pastoral and theological training. If he is not to lose his spirit and his way he too needs the support and stimulus of Christian colleagues of comparable intellectual stature.

The whole field of Christian education, from children through to adults in all their roles of family, work and play, is more than ready for an explosion of considered and co-ordinated exploration and experimentation which can take account of the ferment in educational thinking as well as of the world in which Christians have to live their faith. Here is the very start of the mission of the Church in which much sincere endeavour—as well as only too much shoddiness—has long ended in lamentable failure, often through lack of real awareness of what we are about. We talk much about ways of evangelism in terms of those "outside" the churches, whilst continuing to be inept in understanding, technique, and execution, when it comes to the week by week opportunities for building up the family and household of God. There is still very much to be understood about the ways in which we really learn the Christian life at all ages, or alternatively, how the faith lays hold of us. Similarly we have a long way to go in adequately equipping the Christian for his life in the world. Here is a close relationship with a proper theology of baptism and of what is meant by "the priesthood of all believers".

Conclusions would follow from this for what is known in day schools variously as R.E., R.I., R.K., scripture, or divinity. There is, of course, much hard work being done by specialists already, as well as by boards of education and committees for children, youth, lay training and so on in all denominations; I have been involved in it myself even on an international level. But it remains too often in a place of secondary importance in the strategy of the churches and it would be possible for a cathedral to offer an effective forum for ecumenical consultation in the context of other ministries.

Perhaps the Church has too often failed to cultivate, or perhaps educate, the imagination of Christians. Here there is particular scope for a cathedral with a heritage of beauty, in architecture, music, and the whole presentation of its liturgy, even though this has sometimes erred in remoteness from the experience of the occasional worshipper. Artists of one kind or another have a contribution to make to a laboratory for Christians. There is no need for the organist to live only in a world of choristers, liturgy, and organ. A true "master of music" who meets regularly with his fellow researchers can share with them in learning and communicating ways in which "music takes over when the words have stopped". And not only is this true for music but in all the arts. Drama, for example, once an escape has been made from "religious plays" in the narrow sense, can speak powerfully about ultimate questions and truths. Experience can be gained in a central place, and without any permanent company of actors, which will be drawn upon by all kinds of groups in churches, schools, and clubs, who are longing to explore fresh territory. It would be possible to go on in terms of other arts.

This may be the point to admit that I myself after my first visit to the new Coventry Cathedral joined a little scornfully in the chorus of those who spoke of it as little more than an interesting collection of modern Christian art—in a somewhat medieval style building, liturgically speaking. Now that I have shown and talked about the whole plant to a great diversity of people I am impressed with the tremendous range of gospel truth conveyed through the arts and design of the building to those whose imagination is alert, often far beyond the intent of the artists and planners at the time. This is not only true of cultured overseas tourists, but also of engineering students with whom one may start the tour in the boiler-house!

The virtue of these and any other ministries that may be specially relevant to the time or place is not that they need be high-powered, but that they are both specialist and also in constant and regular consultation with each other as part of an openness to the Holy Spirit about the nature of the mission of the Church today. We hear talk of a fragmentation of modern society in which one group does not understand how another lives nor does it understand the jargon of the other. This fragmentation is apparent in many spheres—political, international, social, cultural, racial, intellectual, technical, and so on. The Christian gospel, we claim, brings a message of reconciliation that can make whole men and harmonious communities. Yet at the same time our ministry is liable to be both fragmented and superficial and we work from divided churches who find it easier each to go its own way, not least when pioneering any fresh vision. Physician, heal thyself . . . .

I might well have instanced more directions of research for a Christian laboratory, and at least two more can be briefly acknowledged. One is a co-operation with those whose skill and wisdom it is to seek to be healers of body and mind from the disciplines of medicine and psychiatry. We need each other's insights and partnership, especially in a day when some perilous things are being done in the name of pastoral psychology and when we are being challenged to rethink our theology and our ministry in a post-Freudian age. To what kind of wholeness of body, mind and spirit do we in actual life witness in local parishes and congregations? And what help, if any, comes from cathedrals?

Wholeness is another way of describing unity, which is what the Gospel offers. The key to it, of course, is love—as revealed in Christ. "Love one another as I have loved you." How can you say you love God if you do not love your brother or your neighbour? And we first experience love, if we are so blessed, in a family. Here is the divinely created human archetype of unity, in the love of man and woman for each other; the coming together of male and female for mutual fulfilment in flesh and mind and spirit, and lovingly to enfold a family in that unity. There should be more for us to learn and say about marriage and family life in company with other educators, youth workers, marriage guidance counsellors and so on.

But still, "Physician, heal thyself". Ought there also to be a little more research into the fragmentation of the Church itself; a modicum of self-examination of the psychological motivations that colour our cherished principles as well as our prejudices? As an incidental activity at resting places on the way, maybe; but not as a substitute for positive reconciliation and service. Seek to do all things together where the Gospel demands it, and do not lightly take no for an answer nor stand on your own dignity as a cathedral.

What is there in most of this that is Anglican rather than Christian? Whatever the merits of past or present controversies and divisions, is Christ divided? Surely a cathedral should come to be seen as a privileged heritage to be used for the co-operative service of all Christians for all the needs of men. At the same time there must be no surprise if the invitations are sometimes misunderstood for we stand heirs of a sinful history. An effortless superiority of (sometimes) unintended lording it over others by the Establishment has left an aggressive sense of inferiority in some of the ranks of nonconformity. A great humility and a spirit of penitence all round is needed to create the mutual confidence that will bring a joyful sense that the local cathedral is in every sense "ours". (As ecumenical man in Coventry I have reason to know a little of the anguish.)

The traditional role of a cathedral; co-operation with diocesan staff, as well as a growing dialogue with other church leaders with the bishop often as host alongside the dean; a team ministry of diverse talents working in touch with a committed worshipping congregation—are these large assumptions to make?

Out of such a growing life, as well as undergirding it, could come a fresh spirit and relevance in the liturgy. The cathedral can become much more than a place where the traditions are maintained and performed at their best. Arising from the experience of the "Pentecostal Laboratory" (Albert van der Heuvel*) an adventurous testing of new and more flexible forms of worship might come to be an expected role of the cathedral of tomorrow. The minds and spirits of many Christians of all traditions in the diocesan area would be stimulated and strengthened by the cathedral which became such a power house for others.

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* Other titles he offered to the Conference of Deans and Provosts at Coventry in 1966 were—A Symbol of Diversity in Unity; The Theatre of Basic Drama; A Temple of Dialogue; A Centre of Creativity; A Clinic of Public Exorcism; A Broadcasting Station for the Poor; A Tower of Reconciliation; A Motel for Pilgrims; The Host of the Shepherd.

THE CATHEDRAL ORGAN

Many Friends will know that the organ is now out of action and is being repaired by Messrs. Henry Willis of London. A very large proportion of the cost is being met most generously by the Friends, but the overhaul and repair of such a large instrument is a very costly business, and any further individual gifts that Friends might be moved to make will be tremendously welcome. At present the whole of the South Choir Transept is filled with pipes and mechanism of the organ, and it is a revelation to see how many hundreds of thousands of small intricate parts go to the building of a cathedral organ. Of course, our organ at Canterbury is played a very great deal in any year, and all these tiny components are constantly moving so it is not surprising that the instrument needs repair at frequent intervals.

At present we are using the Hammond organ as a stop-gap, and it is quite efficient, but we are all looking forward to hearing once again the characteristic sound of the cathedral organ from its mysterious soft string tones to the great solemn grandeur of the full organ.

ALLAN WICKS

CHURCH AND UNIVERSITY

by the Revd. F. S. Telfer

The aim of this article is to discuss some of the difficulties and bewilderments in seeing the best way forward in the changing relationships between churches and universities. It is highlighted for us by the siting of some of the new universities in the older cathedral cities—almost as if this were one reason for the choice of place. Perhaps it is because a mediaeval market town has some architectural resemblances to the Broad or to King's Parade that it seems appropriate! In fact cathedrals have little to do with it for in terms of what a university needs (distinguishing its needs from what might enrich it) they have in their modern form little to offer. But in Canterbury, Guildford, Norwich, and York, to think only of the new foundations, cathedrals and universities find themselves side by side and it would be foolish not to try to find the ways in which the relationship between them could be most profitable.

Looking round the universities already in existence there are a variety of precedents to choose from. In Oxford the cathedral and the university are united physically and in personnel in Christ Church—a unique relationship not emulated elsewhere. Cambridge has kept itself distinct from its cathedral sixteen miles away in Ely, and the autonomy of college chapels as "peculiars" outside the jurisdiction of the Bishop is jealously guarded. In the north, Durham has cathedral and university closely integrated, while until recently at Liverpool official connection with the christian faith was forbidden by statute. The new universities seem to have a more or less standard policy of recognising certain clergy nominated by the Churches, though what this means in practice varies considerably. What it does seem to provide is a flexible framework within which a new relationship might be worked out.

In an earlier generation the purpose of a college or university was expressed in the four words religion, education, learning, and research. Today it is unlikely that the first would gain wide acceptance for in its popular understanding it has changed its meaning. "Education" with its double connotation of preparation for a specific job ahead and the maturing of the individual as a person is what is generally assumed to be the main work of a university. "Learning", the accumulation and transmission of the store of knowledge, and "research" with the excitements of new discovery, would be obviously acceptable. But "religion" . . . . ? It used to stand for a universal activity of man in which he expressed what he had discovered to be his highest vision and his highest authority, and, through these, his greatest dependence and his overriding goals. And because this activity of worship was (and is) universal and fundamental to every activity in which a man engaged, it was vital that its vision and its goal should be true. So the discovery of the true object of worship was the pinnacle of knowledge. Theology was queen of the sciences.

But such an understanding of the word "religion" is now far from common. It has changed its meaning. From a universal activity it is now seen as the activity of a minority for whom it appears to those outside as a hobby, inessential to living, dependence on which may or may not be healthy, and whose object may or may not be real. It is an option rather than a universal activity needing right direction towards truth. Options can safely be left to themselves—unless of course they become a public scandal or a menace to society at large. This puts the Christian in a difficult position, since his understanding of the nature of God means that he sees all man's activities and aims as related to what he has discovered of God. For him, God is a universal God and all things created are caught up in his purposes and potential fulfilment. Yet he has to live in a world which regards it as optional and he has himself to accept the position of an "option" gladly—and in it worship the universal God. But however unfortunate this fact may seem to be, it is not likely to be reversed in the foreseeable future.

This view of Christianity is widely held in our society and widely held within all universities. And it means that to claim "religion" as a fundamental university activity is to appear to claim an improper priority for theology. It seems to claim an importance greater than that of, say, geography, which most people would assume to be a similar option, of universal significance though not a necessary study for all men in order to have a full life. In this sense the study of, say, biblical theology would be an equivalent to geography—but that is not what "religion" meant as the proper function of a university.

So, with the change in the attitude to religion a major change has taken place in the kind of relationship that churches and universities can have with each other.

In the first place, universities will not have the practice of religion as one of their normal institutional activities. (Teaching religion is another question, of course.) The "common mind" of the institution no longer justifies it. And if the practice of worship is to form a part of the life of the members of a university it will have to be financed from outside the institution itself.

Nor can it be assumed that all universities will teach theology. From an economic point of view it is justified as an educational exercise in a number of universities but there are hardly likely to be enough intending clergy or others, who will either earn their living by it or wish for it as a general education, to create a student vocational need in every university. There are other—and strong—arguments for teaching theology as a necessary element in the understanding of our world, but if every subject is not to be taught in every university, then it is likely that the economic factor will operate decisively.

On the other hand, the university, though itself officially dissociated from religion, is composed of individual people who will in various ways still pursue religion in the way I originally defined it. They will share the need of all men to discover their ideals, authority, dependence, and goals, and they will seek to meet this need in various ways. Some of these ways will be christian, and there will therefore be within the university a christian life which will look for articulation and for integration with society at large. Furthermore, because only some of these ways will be christian, it will also be true that the official non-committal position of the university will be modified by its actual members into either an encouraging welcome or an active hostility towards any church connection, or, as is most likely, a mixture of both. Whatever the case may be, what members of a university will always look for in any church connection is a similar intellectual concern to their own—education, learning, and research, over the whole field of knowledge, for man's common good. To think only in terms of servicing souls or of opportunities for evangelism is to miss the most important contribution that universities and churches can make to each other.

When it comes to seeing how this will in fact work out in practice in individual situations, it is impossible to generalize about the kind of situation which is likely to emerge or which it is desirable should emerge. It will vary with the needs of different places and with the personalities of the members of the various institutions involved. For it is generally true that good men will make most systems work well and no system is likely to prevent a bad man from wrecking it. Will and concern are more important factors than formalised constitutions in this kind of situation. Much will also depend on whether a particular university has a department teaching theology or not, for if it does not, then the amount of intellectual activity which the Church will have to be ready to provide from outside will be greater.

In short, the main thing the Church must provide is people, who, beginning from the same concerns as the university will meet the situations as they find them. People will be more important than buildings, for in a university it is the small groups which are the effective means of communication.

What then can a cathedral do? It may be that it can provide a chaplain, or a scholar, or a place of worship. Any of these might be the particular need and it is impossible to predict where it may lie in the future with most urgency. But one thing is clear—that a cathedral, no less than the rest of the Church, must first of all be a place of intellectual vigour, rigour, and openness, if it is to be taken seriously by universities—let alone be able to commend its gospel in the world at large.

THE CATHEDRAL CITY AS AN URBAN FORM TODAY

by Lewis Braithwaite

The architectural and archaeological aspects of the cathedral city have been exhaustively treated in the past but often at the expense of the larger planning and environmental issues. This inability to see the wood for the trees tends to be a characteristic of cathedral cities more than other historic towns because of the existence of the cathedral precinct; for it is here that many of the most influential citizens live. The precinct itself, usually "an area of historic value", is untouchable by the planning authorities, and the precinct's sharp boundary makes what goes on in the town proper seem largely irrelevant—though it cannot be very satisfying to make the occasional sortie to see the town's other historic buildings often isolated in a sea of concrete and tarmac. This article, by contrast, will treat the cathedral city much more as a historic town than a precinct with a few buildings outside; and in fact its most important idea will be the extension of this sharp boundary to the city as a whole.

However successful post-war British architecture and planning may have been in some respects, in one field it has been an almost complete failure—our cathedral cities and historic towns. Almost all survived the war fairly intact, more than those in any other European country, yet few have survived the peace, and it is only recently* that we have realised that unless a fresh approach and totally new policy is adopted, in a few years we will have none left at all.

One does not have to look far for the evidence. Everywhere there are narrow streets full of the fumes and noise of heavy traffic, extensive open car-parks presenting vistas of tarmac and pressed steel, gaps in frontages that look like bomb sites, and "blight" and urban decay; while the modern contribution to the townscape has been the indiscriminate widening of streets, the insensitive opening up of "views" of historic buildings—that bear no relation to the characteristic compactness and scale—and the building of a rash of shops and stores identical in their total disregard of any sense of individuality or "place". Blatant examples are the widened streets of Exeter, the new shops in Norwich and the open car-parks of Canterbury. It is becoming increasingly difficult to remember which cathedral city one is visiting, and less worthwhile to visit any at all.

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* The new Civic Amenities Act for the first time requires local authorities to designate AREAS rather than just buildings as of special architectural or historic interest; a Preservation Policy Group set up under the chairmanship of Lord Kennet, parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, is reviewing the existing planning machinery and studying five towns as case histories—Bath, Chester, Chichester, King's Lynn, and York; and the Civic Trust has recently published a comprehensive review of all these problems in a special issue of the *Architect's Journal*, "Conservation Areas—preserving the architectural and historic scene", 18th January, 1967.

As a summary, here is a magnificently rhetorical statement of the anger and disgust many feel at what is happening: "I don't want to live there now, hemmed in by the ring road, the trading estate, with hardly a word of 'Glawster' heard in the streets. No sheep in the park, no gipsies with wild daffodils, no elvers cried in the streets, no horses, no cattle investing the city, no identity, no living individual separate unique Gloucester-ness any more, just mid-twentieth-century England, brash, shoddy, restless, anonymous, without style, petrol-fumy, car-choked."*

Although particularly disastrous in cathedral cities which depend for their effect on scale and detail, these phenomena can be observed in the central areas of all our cities. The causes are complex but they should be studied to appreciate the problems that have to be faced. In general they are due to the pressures of an increase in both the population and our standard of living. Central land becomes extremely valuable, especially if shops or commercial developments are permitted (popular with many councils since this keeps down the rates), and extensive road improvements and car parking facilities are then considered necessary to deal with the traffic these activities create. In cathedral cities there are often many attractive small houses in the central area which people would like to live in and "do up". But the odds are loaded against them, for not only are mortgages on old property difficult to get and restoration costly and difficult to estimate, but lack of information about detailed planning intentions (*i.e.*, which houses are to be demolished for a road widening scheme) and slowness in implementing them ("planning blight") makes any such investment risky.

It is no coincidence that we have been more successful in the new towns than the old. For, emerging after the war in search of a new society with a new social framework, we have been impatient of visible symbols of our historic past. There is even a case where a member of a London planning committee insisted on the demolition of a Georgian terrace for no other reason than the fact that his mother used to work in one of the houses as a maid, and it belonged to the "nobs" and had to go. Officially we believe in supermarkets, the motor car, and nice wide streets, and if a few historic towns are destroyed in the process—too bad, but this is progress. The planners, the servants of local government committees often dominated by local tradesmen and builders, have followed this tendency, thinking the creation of big new schemes far more exciting than piecemeal remodelling and in-filling.

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* P. C. Bayley, "Where is Gloucester now?", *The Listener*, 7th July, 1966, quoted in "Conservation Areas".

And as Jane Jacobs has pointed out*, instead of setting up centres of urban studies to see how our existing towns and cities really work, we have been building *new* towns, with a set of assumptions on zoning, densities, daylight angles, shopping, transport, etc., which cannot be proved or disproved for, say, 50 years; and then applied these to the completely different situation of urban *renewal*.

It is significant that when it comes to ordering their own lives architects and planners are instinctively sceptical of their own dogmas. They rarely live in the areas they plan and design, preferring cottages in the country and terrace houses in central London squares (even if the houses are old, in a bad area, at high density, or facing north).

The fundamental failure of planning in cathedral cities and historic towns has therefore been that little attempt has been made to treat them as a distinct problem or set out special principles of development. This depends on something more—a belief that these towns DO have a relevant modern function in the age of minis, Marks and Spencers, and comprehensive education. The rest of this article will try to state this function and then examine the urban form and planning principles that emerge.

Little distinction has been made between cathedral cities and historic towns because it is considered that the true cathedral city is also a historic town, with the additional features of a particularly impressive historic building as its chief tourist attraction and focus, and a precinct, often walled, within the city. The term "cathedral city" implies that its cathedral character is still dominant, which puts a limit on its size, and this is also true of historic towns which do not have a sufficient number of historic buildings still in use if they have grown too fast.† Thus, if parish-church and post-medieval cathedrals are excluded, cathedral cities in this article will include Canterbury, Winchester, Exeter, Ely, Ripon, etc., but not Bury St. Edmunds, Manchester, Bristol, Coventry, or Truro.

Simply by having been towns at all in a sparsely populated predominantly rural society, without mechanical power or good roads, and in a country with widely differing scenery and landscape, cathedral cities all have certain characteristics:—

1. They do not occur close together and are often the market and county towns of the shires.
2. They are on rivers.

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* *The Death and Life of Great American Cities—the Failure of Town Planning.*

† "Of the 27 English towns (excluding London) which had a population in 1801 of more than 12,000, almost without exception the only ones which have survived to be classified by the Council for British Archaeology as having a historic 'town centre worthy of preservation' are those which have subsequently grown the least." David Smith in his prize-winning essay on historic towns at this year's Town and Country Planning Summer School.

3. They are all different from each other and have certain qualities which make each unique. Sometimes these are details of local materials and building traditions and sometimes features of the architecture and townscape derived from their function in historic times.

4. They contain interesting historic buildings besides the cathedral.

5. The historic centre has
   (*a*) a small-scale street pattern.
   (*b*) a compactness and intimacy.
   (*c*) a distinct boundary—in many cases the line of the walls.

6. They are comparatively small towns in population, and the central core is not very extensive.
   Canterbury, population about 30,000, with a walled centre only half a mile across, is a typical example. Norwich and York, both over 100,000 now and large towns in mediaeval times, are possible exceptions.

Apart from any ecclesiastical function, the most obvious role of a cathedral city is as a tourist attraction and earner of foreign exchange, and in many countries this is considered an adequate reason for the preservation and restoration of complete towns at considerable cost. Certainly it is a dangerous assumption that once the small scale streets and mediaeval character have gone, people will still come just to visit the cathedral and historic buildings that remain.

But cathedral cities have another function less easy to define. Whatever effect the pressures of population and technology may have had on the central areas of our cities, the accompanying phenomena of mass-production plants turning out millions of identical objects, and acres of faceless suburbs have had unpleasant results on the people living in this society. Many people feel insignificant and overwhelmed, without roots or a sense of identity; the crime rate soars and mental hospitals become full. Thus cathedral cities have a most important function as a vital release from the everyday pressures, and an oasis of human values—they, rather than anything else, because they have many of the necessary characteristics already. They should not only fulfil their traditional role of containing historic buildings but should have in addition:—

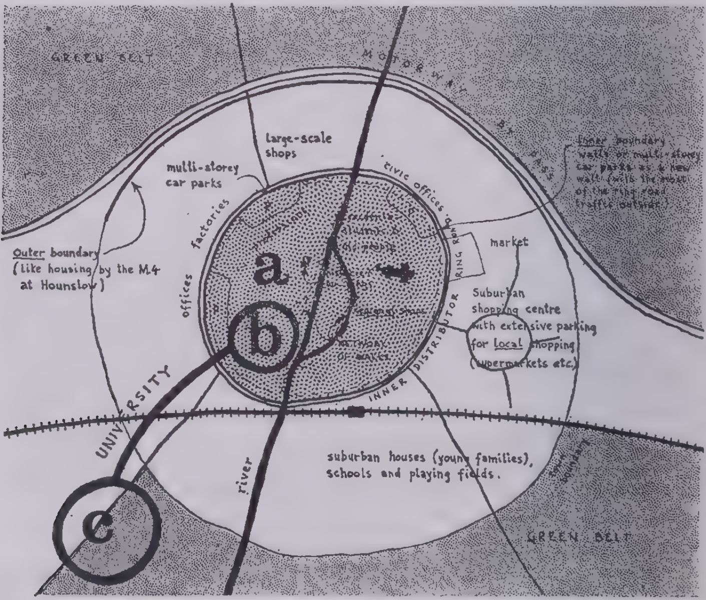
a strong individuality, character, and sense of "place", making each in its own way unique,
a human scale,
a well-defined environment with a sharp boundary—quiet, traffic-free, relaxing, different,

and they should be lived in and used, having residents and industry sympathetic to these other qualities. In short we should develop the characteristics of cathedral cities—not destroy them.

Emphasise the inner boundary and then treat as two distinct units:

Suburbia or New Town
Conventional zoning. High density by ring road with office buildings and big shops; low density, generally residential, further out. *Local* shops and suburban shopping centres with extensive parking facilities.

"Green" Centre or Old Town (Environmental Area)
Establish minimum of buildings and streets to be preserved at all costs and prepare detailed town map.
Fill in gaps and build on sites of open car-parks.
In all new building, keep the historic street pattern and scale.
Get universities and colleges "downtown" into the centre.
Encourage people to live in the centre, especially students and old people, and build or convert new flats, some of which could be over shops; many of these flats could be let to students in term-time and tourists during the vacations.
Except for a few local shops for central residents, provide only *regional* shops (bookshops, antiques, specialised food and clothing, etc.)
Build multi-storey car-parks on edge, and restrict traffic to a minimum.


GREEN BELT
MOTORWAY BY-PASS
large-scale shops
multi-storey car parks
civic offices
Inner boundary walls or multi-storey car parks as a new wall (with the noise of the ring road traffic outside)
factories
offices
Outer boundary (like housing by the M.4 at Hounslow)
a
residents students & old people
regional shops
network of walks
b
RING ROAD
market
INNER DISTRIBUTOR
Suburban shopping centre with extensive parking for local shopping (supermarkets etc.)
UNIVERSITY
river
suburban houses (young families), schools and playing fields.
c
outer boundary
GREEN BELT

(*a*) "Green" centre, not necessarily all green open space, but a well-defined, relaxing environment.

The two halves of the university: (*b*) Communal, arts, research; (*c*) Faculties requiring elaborate loading facilities, playing fields.

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To achieve this the first step would be to define the centre of a cathedral city as an environmental area, as a place where people go to enjoy themselves and have a change from their normal suburban existence. In a sense therefore cathedral cities as well as having the conventional green belt would also have a "green" centre, though one as much for the whole region as the immediate urban area.

As the centres of cathedral cities would not be required to deal with either the pressures for new housing, shops or factories, or even the *everyday* needs of its own population, their function would be completely different from that of normal towns. This is not surprising as cathedral cities are rare enough for their function to be different, and already many have tended to become regional centres.

Nonetheless, new housing or even industry is not necessarily incompatible. There are many sites to be built on and many of the new electronic industries do not require large buildings or elaborate loading facilities and could operate in the centre without disrupting the atmosphere or scale. One of the major problems in this kind of industry is acquiring and keeping managers and highly trained personnel, and this might well be easier in the pleasant environment of a cathedral city.

The plan shows these ideas applied to a typical cathedral city or historic town. Here is some amplification of some of the points. Much more use would be made of the river, both architecturally and for recreation, and a network of walks linking together the river, walls, pedestrian areas and car-parks is shown. Local shopping—the weekly groceries—is located in the suburbs near the families that most need it, and requires large efficient supermarkets with extensive parking nearby for the heavy loads; whereas regional shopping should stay as one of the attractions of the centre. Students and retired people seem to like living in the centre of historic towns already and are relatively unaffected by limited use of cars and few houses having gardens. Often retired people are trapped in country cottages, unable to drive a car, dependent on inadequate public transport and cut off from others; yet there is a pernicious myth, fostered by the able bodied, that retirement means living in the country—when what one should do is retire to the centre of a town. It is also ironic that the universities and colleges which have chosen historic towns as their locations seem always to be placed in great parks outside, when many of the students and staff would prefer to be in the centre; at Poitiers by contrast the Fine Arts faculties even refused to move out to new buildings in the suburbs.

The basic idea is that walls of buildings (including multi-storey car-parks, which can be quite attractive buildings) define an area and keep out the noise, while the traffic flows like a moat outside.

An outer bastion is shown, to screen the motorway by-pass, and in most cathedral cities there would be the additional inner one of the precincts. Once these belts of land were sharply defined, it would then be possible to develop new activities while preserving the best buildings and streets from the past; and the problem would then become the detailed architectural one of in-fill and conversion, which might throw up some interesting new solutions.

To implement the proposals for the central environmental area many of our present planning assumptions would have to be modified. The first is that roads should be widened and improved to increase the flow of traffic through the town. This is a common way of destroying the essential frontage and scale of a historic town and rarely achieves more than boosting the prestige of the Borough Engineer. In the centre of towns, as in Parkinson's Law, traffic expands to fill the space allotted for it, and even the Americans, the most car-conscious society in the world, having found that the construction of new urban motorways merely creates new traffic, are concentrating at a late stage on staggeringly expensive improvements to public transport. In any case as soon as the streets are widened rows of parked cars materialise to narrow them down again, and even in narrow streets it is rarely the *straights* but the *junctions* that cause delays. In the centre of an historic town there should be a minimum of traffic, and with the current urgent need for new inter-city motorways the Ministry of Transport should not waste public money on this futile piecemeal destruction.

The present system of zoning, being almost totally negative and schematic, is unsuited for a historic town which depends on detail. Either a detailed Town Map should be produced showing the intended use of every piece of property in the central area, or the whole area should be zoned residential (although this would not of course mean that there would be no shops or businesses in the centre).

The question of cars and parking is always dominated by the demands of shopkeepers and traders for parking to be provided adjacent to their premises. In fact visitors often enjoy a short stroll to their cars, especially in a pleasant environment, but in any case the shopkeepers should not be deferred to: they receive the profits of trading in an historic town—they should be prepared to accept the limitations as well.

There is also the related problem of servicing the shops. It is current dogma that rear access must be provided for shops before areas can be made pedestrian areas free of traffic, yet in historic towns this involves extensive destruction. The solution is surely to regularise what is already happening in many towns due to the traffic, and supply the shops outside working hours, barring off the streets during the day with chains which could be removed to admit ambulances and fire-engines in emergencies. Public transport is another question that needs a fresh approach. At the moment we seem to have the choice of huge double-decker buses or none at all. But why not develop special single-fare minibuses, to connect with the railway and bus stations and the car-parks; and keep the longer distance double-deckers completely out of the central area?* None of these suggestions is very radical and almost all are common practice on the Continent.

The final problem is of course administration and finance. Recommendations are made in "Conservation Areas" and are closely connected with the wider issues of local government recently reviewed by a Royal Commission. Initially some financial assistance would be required as there would inevitably be a readjustment in land values—central land tending to fall in value, and land immediately outside the inner ring road to rise—but once under way in their new form the cities could probably finance themselves. For since compactness and a reasonably high density (though in the form of "low" rather than "high" rise) are desirable at the centre, and the gaps would be filled and the open car-parks built on, good use would be made of the land. If further funds *are* required, however, they should be raised not from the rates of the individual cities but from the whole region that uses the city as its centre and focus. Various national bodies could assist by co-ordinating their activities so that they do not make the present situation worse. One reason, for instance, why there has been so little building in the centre of cathedral towns for universities and old people is that insufficient money is allocated to cover the cost of central land; and yet if some means had been devised for providing this initial difference, many of the present problems would not have arisen, and the ultimate cost might have been far less. The government should find funds to assist this sort of project, restrain the ravages of the road engineers, and tackle the two key issues of the cost of preservation and the difficulty of raising mortgages on old property.

One characteristic of cathedral cities has not been mentioned. They are important centres of the Church of England and many people living there are clergy or others connected with the Church. The issues raised in this article are, like those at Stansted, environmental and concerned with individuals and the quality of the life they lead; as such they are presumably the concern of churchmen, who ought to try and understand the problems and make their influence felt. There is no need to be apologetic about being to some extent preservationist. Scientists and engineers are usually very aware of these values, whereas it is often those without a technological training—civil servants, accountants, lawyers—who try to show how tough and unsentimental they can be by opting for the cheapest short-term "modern" solution. There is nothing progressive in imitating the Americans in wrecking our cities, in order to inherit their problems of psychological instability and jungle cities with appalling crime rates and street warfare. The Church of England has had a bad record in modern church art and architecture,* not having learnt apparently to distinguish the true architectural qualities of space, scale and contrast from irrelevant considerations of style; let us hope, for everyone's sake, that they will wake up in time to help our cathedral cities in the present planning crisis.

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* The removal of traffic and the creation of pedestrian areas would have to be done in stages, of which the first might well be blocking-off through routes (forcing traffic to go in loops off the inner ring road), and removing all long-term parking while leaving some short-term for shoppers. The excellent Buchanan Report, *Traffic in Towns*, deals fully with these questions, particularly the section on historic towns with its proposals for Norwich.

Review Article

THE LORDSHIP OF CANTERBURY

by M. St. John Parker

As the immense complexity of the Middle Ages reveals itself to historians, they show an understandable tendency to withdraw cautiously from the bold, broad generalisations of their predecessors, and to devote themselves instead to a carefully unprejudiced study of the basic facts. For an agricultural society like medieval England, no fact can be more basic than the land; so it is not surprising that we have seen recently a steady succession of detailed studies dealing with single estates or families, by such authorities as Mr. Denholm-Young, Dr. Altschul and Mr. Wightman. This sort of exercise can, of course, all too easily degenerate into mere antiquarianism a tendency which has always been noticeable among medieval historians. It is the more satisfying, therefore, to find in Prof. Du Boulay's latest contribution to the genre[1] a constant awareness of the bigger issues which lie behind his subject. This is not a book for the popular market; it is essentially what its title implies—a painstaking, meticulously erudite analysis of a vast mass of documentation relating to the estates of the medieval Archbishops of Canterbury. But it has for a sub-title, "An essay on medieval society"; and while Prof. Du Boulay never mars the pattern of his analysis by drifting off into questionable generalisation or irrelevant speculation, the light of his broad outlook illuminates the facts so tellingly that medieval Kent, up to a point England and even Europe, steal almost unnoticed upon our awareness. Schoolteachers at conferences can sometimes be heard pathetically exhorting each other to "make the facts come alive" for their pupils: Prof. Du Boulay, on the other hand, has the better teacher's knack of stimulating not his facts but his audience—and that without a word that is not *à propos* the task immediately in hand.

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* "Except Coventry Cathedral, the Church of England has commissioned nothing, absolutely nothing, of real merit. Yet hundreds of new churches have gone up. Is it any wonder that church attendance in Great Britain is slipping? There are more fine new churches around Basel or Cologne than in the whole of the United Kingdom. To flip through *Sixty Post-War Churches* (Incorporated Church Building Society, London, 1957) will make even the most devout an agnostic."

G. E. Kidder Smith, *The New Architecture of Europe.*

[1] *The Lordship of Canterbury* by F. R. H. Du Boulay. 418 pp., two appendices. Nelson, 84/-.

Having gone so far in praise, it is ironical that one should next have to record that the opening paragraphs of Chapter I, forming a general introduction to the nature and purpose of the work, are about the least satisfactory in the book—evidently written last, in a moment of weary sterility.[2] After that, however, Prof. Du Boulay settles down to describe his source material, especially MSS. in the Lambeth Palace Library—and the unfavourable first impression is gone.

The plan of the book is topical, but the topics are so managed that a chronological sequence emerges without difficulty, and the reader is carried from the pre-Conquest acquisitions of the archbishops to the spoliations of Henry VIII. The archiepiscopal estates were separated from the possessions of the Canterbury monks at an early date, and the two groups of properties subsequently developed along different lines. The management of the archbishop's land was governed by the fact that, like the king or the great baronial landowners, but unlike the monks of Christ Church, he was "a lord whose fundamental nature, on the economic view, was to travel with a large household from manor to manor". The structure of the lordship was therefore a matter of services—obligations to find food and provender, to perform tasks, to assist and support the lord in every conceivable way. At the same time, as Prof. Du Boulay emphasises, the relationship was carefully regulated and essentially reciprocal for most of the Middle Ages, providing by its manorial courts and periodic visitations the organisational foundation for a network of living and effective communities.

As one would expect, the nature of manorial obligations varied greatly, not only from time to time but also from place to place.

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2. One other defect deserves notice—the quality of the proof-reading is most erratic, seriously so for a book costing four guineas. The worst patch occurs between pages 60 and 120, where a persistent substitution of "h" for "a" produces a sort of manic Anglo-Saxon effect.

The bulk of the archbishop's lands were in Kent—Prof. Du Boulay describes the process of grant, purchase and exchange by which they came to be grouped roughly along the main lines of communication between London and the Channel ports—but there were extensive properties also in Sussex, Middlesex and Surrey. In general, the traditional stories of Kentish freedom and personal independence are largely justified by the facts as they appear here—particularly by contrast with the servile conditions which prevailed in Sussex to a late date. The obligation to give week-work may be regarded as one of the acid tests of personal subjection, and this, says Prof. Du Boulay, "did not exist in Kent" in the early thirteenth century. By that time, he continues, "the legal freedom of Kentishmen appears fairly well established . . . . Since the Conquest they had often been socially and economically of a class with knights, and knights were soon to be thought rare in the county". The picture of Kentish society which emerges from this analysis is markedly different from the textbook pattern of medieval life; it is complex, heterogeneous, inclined to be economically and socially fluid, and characterised by a relative absence of dominating landowners and nobles. The nature and administration of the great archiepiscopal estates contributed largely to this state of affairs.

The actual mode of exploitation naturally varied considerably from one period to another. Between 1066 and 1086, of course, there was much confusion, and the estates were subjected to a plundering from which they were rescued only by the courage, skill and determination of Lanfranc. The most enduring feature of this period was the effective alienation of many of the best manors—up to one-sixth of the total endowment—by enfeoffment as knights' fees, a state from which they rarely returned. The origin of this compulsory "feudalisation" is to be found in 1070, when William I demanded a service of 60 knights from the archbishop; Prof. Du Boulay's analysis of the history of these knights' fees contributes useful material to the current controversy about military tenure. The extent of the demesne territory was more or less finally established by Domesday, however, and remained substantially unchanged until the sixteenth century. In his chapter on "The archbishop's demesnes", Prof. Du Boulay distinguishes three main phases of administration: in the first, lasting till 1200, the demesnes were mostly leased out to farmers; between roughly 1200 and 1400 direct exploitation under archiepiscopal officers (bailiffs, reeves, serjeants) was the rule; and finally, from the late fourteenth century, leasing once more became general.

The intricate reasons behind these changes are analysed by Prof. Du Boulay with lucid subtlety. Personal factors—strong, managing archbishops, weak, spendthrift archbishops—play their part;

economic developments—the varying values of corn, and wool, and timber, the movements of prices and the costs of living—matter more; but above all, this is necessarily an account of the growth and decay of the whole organism of medieval society. The lordship that came into the hands of Lanfranc in 1070 was still in many ways close to primitive military tribalism—a very far cry from the sophisticated economic functionalism which was the characteristic of the same lordship under Archbishop Warham in the 1520's. This is not to demote the Middle Ages to the status of a mere transitional period, as the eighteenth century classicists did; the period had an emphatic and complex identity of its own, and Prof. Du Boulay's summary of the mixed life-objects of the Norman Hugh de Port—"armed conquest, competition for rights and revenues, and the service of God"—could be applied with equal fairness to men of a much later date. But the description certainly would not fit the race of hard-headed, opportunist professional men who took over the management of the lordship in the fifteenth century, and whose archetype, Thomas Cromwell, demolished it in the sixteenth.

In dealing with the destruction of the lordship, Prof. Du Boulay's analysis of the facts makes it quite clear that it would be impossible to defend the "cataclysmic" view of the changes of the sixteenth century—if anyone still wanted to do so. The dynamic of medieval society was lost in the later fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, in a nightmare of plagues, and wars, and social upheavals, and religious changes. The fundamental revolution in attitude had begun before Henry VIII was born, and the collapse of Cranmer's lordship was implicit in the policies of Archbishop Courtenay.

The long decline must have been a grim time; Prof. Du Boulay's dispassionate account of the facts makes it all the more spine-chilling: all the more relevant, also. There are disturbingly modern implications to his remark, "It is an interesting speculation whether a sense of oppression weighed more heavily upon the lesser members of the community during the thirteenth century when wages were low and the rights of lordship less questioned, or in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when a man's labour was at a premium, the meek could be exalted, yet the mighty would not be put down from their seat".

Perhaps we are peculiarly well fitted to understand the decadence of the fifteenth century. But it is Prof. Du Boulay's achievement that no part of his analysis gains at the expense of another. We owe him gratitude for a work that is at once a definitive treatment of the chosen subject, and a real contribution to our understanding of the Middle Ages.

MEDIEVAL GRAFFITI OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

by J. Horsfall Turner

Unknown to both visitors and most of those intimately concerned with the cathedral there exists on its walls a wealth of hitherto unrecorded medieval graffiti. Between 1960 and 1964 my brother and I, then boys at the King's School, decided to try and catalogue these and in all discovered some 80 examples, as well as several thousand masons' marks, so that what started as a small survey has resulted in the deposit of two volumes in the cathedral library (Additional Manuscripts 117). The drawings though stylised are nevertheless in many cases most vivid representations of Christ in glory, bishops, blessing figures, the Last Supper, the eagle of St. John, horses with riders and even one which may depict Henry II holding a clubbed sceptre. The importance of the Canterbury drawings lies partly in their artistic merit and partly in their medium, for though much is known both about medieval sculpture and about manuscript illumination these drawings are quite different, using a chisel and stone surface but in two dimensions.

This article sets out to describe briefly what was found during a stone by stone examination and to state a few connected problems.

The exact dating of the graffiti is difficult. Certainly they are medieval and both the faces and attitudes of the figures and animals have much in common with manuscript illumination of the early 13th century, for instance the work of Matthew Paris. Clothing worn by the figures also gives some guide. Mitres are of a low type introduced in the 1170 period and similar to the traditional "Becket Mitre" in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The illustrated horseman in the crypt may perhaps be wearing a helmet similar to some shown by Matthew Paris in Chronica Majora I (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge) which are before 1240. The pointed shoe of the same figure could be of any date from 1170 to 1400. It can also be seen that the surface of the stones has erupted since the graffiti were cut, though such eruption takes a considerable time. The drawings appear on the walls of the crypt and quire, except curiously enough the north quire aisle and transept, and as the Trinity Chapel and eastern crypt were not built until after the fire of 1174 their earliest possible date is fixed. In the eastern crypt there is a Last Supper beneath the charred remains of a pillar painting now known as Becket's ghost. The graffito was executed before the painting, which is itself medieval. At one time, before finding those in the post 1174 building, a particularly early date was considered, for in the south nave transept the ascending stairs to the quire level pass through the scratching of an apostle's face in a Last Supper group, thus proving the drawing was done before the construction of the stairs. But, an inspection of the layers of stone beneath the staircase shows that the original stairs, put in probably in the 1170's, were steeper than the present flight and thus none of the drawing would have been obliterated, though it would still have been extremely close to the ground. The position of one Last Supper in the Trinity Chapel, part of which I have illustrated, is also of interest, situated as it is in the narrow space of 1 ft. 7 in. between the pillar and the wall. This graffito is extremely fine and it would be difficult to make a drawing of this calibre in such a space. Three graffiti in St. Alban's Abbey, directly comparable to the Canterbury series, are on walls of similar date, reputed to have been built by John de Cella (1195), at the west end of the nave. It could conceivably be that the drawing was done during the building, but anyway the first half of the 13th century would be a fairly safe estimate.

There is also a large unpublished collection in Rochester Cathedral which occur on the norman piers of the nave and in the crypt. The date of these graffiti is estimated as 1227.

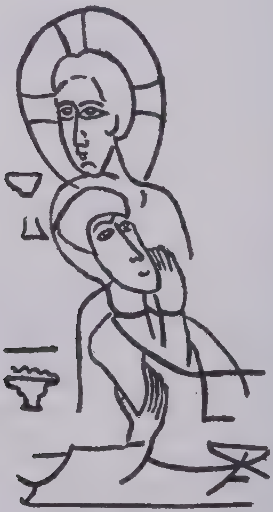
The drawings were in general executed from ground level, only one in the quire would require some sort of platform. There are however three or four faces that are extremely close to the ground, perhaps they were sketches for other graffiti. The main examples are no idle scratchings either, as is shown by the depth of some of the incisions, particularly the Trinity Chapel Last Supper and the Christ in Glory in the crypt, but sometimes they have become worn, perhaps when later paintings were being cleaned off, and others have never been completed.

They have been carved by people skilled in the use of a mason's chisel and with considerable artistic training. Often it is possible to say that two graffiti are by the same hand. From this and the subject matter it seems likely that either the masons when building, or the monks when guarding the shrines, were the artists.

The purpose of the graffiti is also obscure. Scratching on stone has been practiced since prehistoric times, used widely in ancient Egypt, in Russia in the 12th century, and also in Norway where examples survive (in fact on wood) in the Sture Church from Gol (published: Martin Blindheim, Oslo, 1956). In England there exist many small graffiti particularly of the late 13th-15th centuries, and a very interesting collection is to be published this autumn in *English Medieval Graffiti* by Mrs. V. Pritchard (C.U.P.), but they are mainly fairly rough. However, in St. Alban's Abbey and Rochester Cathedral there are examples which are very similar to the Canterbury graffiti in size, execution and style. Were the Canterbury drawings the basis for paintings? Probably not, as no trace of paint can be seen and anyway why go to all the trouble of putting in details with a chisel if they are merely to be overpainted? They might conceivably have been picked out in colour. Were they ever a major form of decoration in themselves? This is very difficult, as clearly many of them have never been finished, and also why draw behind a pillar as with the Last Supper in the Trinity Chapel? The strong religious content shows they may have been mere acts of devotion, but equally they would be fitting decoration in a cathedral. In support of their having had a more prominent position, apart from their artistic merit, is the fact that in particular in the crypt, many of them are symmetrically placed (an eagle on one side of an arch reveals a second eagle on the facing side). Also, there is one carving, probably of Becket blessing, near the shrine in the crypt that has a parallel near the shrine in the Trinity Chapel. This might also point to the date being around 1220. The St. Alban's graffiti look very much like part of a scheme of decoration. The bull and eagle of Luke and John fill separate bays at the west end of the nave, while the eagle in the north porch of the west front is very deeply incised and of great size.

In themselves, however, the graffiti are astonishing and certainly something should be done to preserve the most important of them. They should be protected from damage by removal of stones forming a part of them or their covering over by plaques, both of which have happened this century. Also they must be protected from the casual "discoverer" who pencils them in, sometimes inaccurately, or scratches at them with a penknife.

THE LAST SUPPER



The Last Supper of the Trinity Chapel: Detail 2 ft. 1 in. by 3 ft. 5 in.

The Last Supper is the most frequently depicted subject of all, there being probably twelve representations of it in varying forms. Sometimes the figures are just Christ with St. John on his breast but at others more of the apostles are included. On occasion, too, the table is visible and even the cloth laden with vessels and loaves. The Christ with John groups are clearly sufficient to represent the whole of the scene of the Last Supper and the frequent absence of any other figure tends to show that the religious significance of these pictures was more important to the drawer than any artistic merit. It is also worth noticing that those graffiti with more figures included are in general the better ones artistically.

Vieing with the Christ in Majesty in the crypt for artistic precedence must be the superbly executed Last Supper of the Trinity Chapel. This is situated rather oddly on the wall behind a pillar, a fact which I considered earlier in the question of dating. It is certainly incredible if indeed the carver managed to execute the work in such a confined space. What strikes one immediately is that this drawing is very lifelike and yet it retains all the religious symbolism. Christ's head is shown in half profile, a little unusual as Christ is normally shown in full face, and he has the usual "club-shaped" nose. (Though some other figures have at times rough pointed noses, Christ always has a "club-shaped" nose.) In the bosom of Christ and looking upward (in only two graffiti does he look downward) lies the face of St. John, his hand outstretched towards Christ. To the right of his head is the faint base of a single-bowled chalice which Christ holds in his right hand. There are two other disciples visible, both on Christ's left, but one is severely damaged and the other is very faint. To the left and right of St. John stretches the line of the table, on which are bowls and other vessels, some piled high with food, and also there are circular loaves. Lower down there is the line of the near-side of the table and then six clearly defined scallops which mark the bottom of the tablecloth. The table should be compared to one depicted by the school of Matthew Paris in the History of St. Edward (Cambridge University Library).

In the crypt on one of the vast stone piers that divide the eastern from the western crypt there is yet another of these Last Suppers. The figures are of little interest, it not being certain even if they really are Christ and St. John, the picture being quite possibly very incomplete. The astonishing thing here is that the table is so long (it extends for 23 feet with chalices, pots, and plates) though it is only on the wall face with the figures that the folds of the tablecloth with a very realistic scalloped hem are visible. The table continues round corners on to twelve different stone faces and goes through

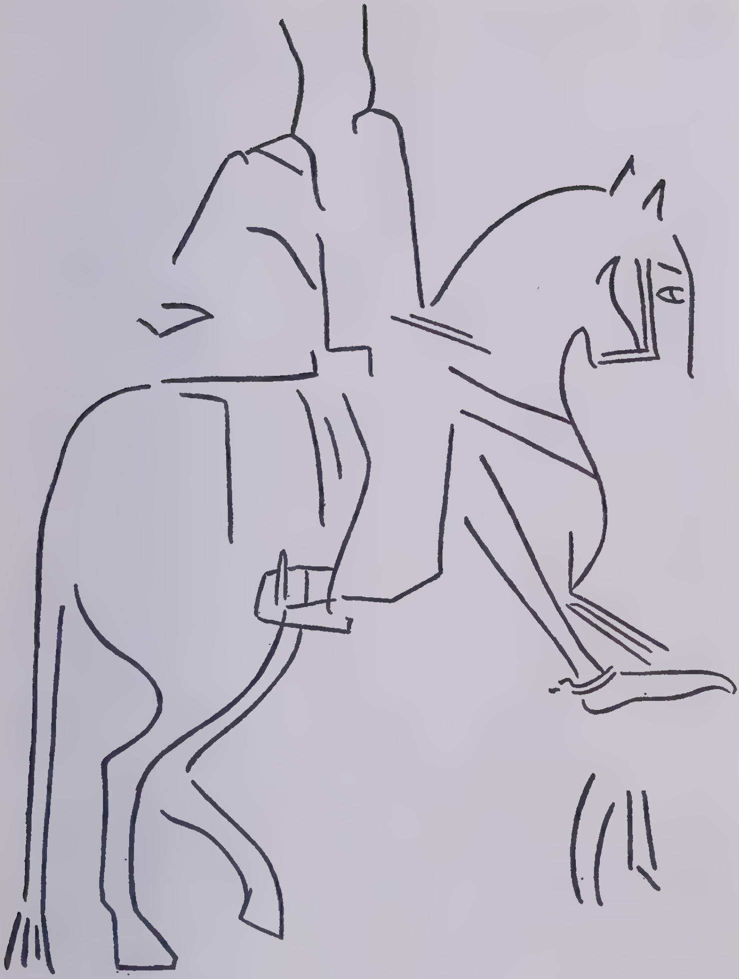
170°. Why this is seems quite inexplicable. The largest number of figures occur in the graffito situated on and running into the steps from the nave to the south quire aisle. Here there is Christ holding a chalice in his right hand, while to his right and at the same level are three more faces, the furthest one of which, partially obliterated by the step, is turned away from Christ and may be meant to depict Judas. In Christ's bosom lies St. John looking downward, and on his right at a lower level are three more figures with one further face at a lower level again. There is, however, only slight evidence of any table.

In Rochester Cathedral there are a number of graffiti which might represent the supper at Emmaus.

HORSE AND RIDER

There are five drawings of horses with riders, all of which are in the crypt. The one illustrated, which is delightful in its overall effect, is undoubtedly the finest and it is interesting to note that there is a corresponding picture, albeit in a worse state of preservation on the south side of the crypt. It is tempting to call these figures Canterbury pilgrims (apart from one which I consider represents Christ on a donkey) calling to mind the illustrations to the *Canterbury Tales* in the Ellesmere Manuscript, but there is no proof of this. The one illustrated might well be an armed horseman wearing a helmet similar, as I suggested above, to those depicted by Matthew Paris.

The execution of this drawing, of which the cut is good, shows considerable artistic talent and yet both the face and the front legs of the horse seem never to have been completed. The back legs of the horse are, however, particularly fine. In most of the graffiti the face is the most carefully executed part and the absence of any such detail here would tend to support the view that it is either an anonymous pilgrim or a knight (the line to the right of the head could be a shield). It is difficult to see all the details of the graffito from the illustration but it gives an excellent general idea (published *Cantuarian*, August, 1960). Some things are of particular note. First, under the belly of the horse one can see the saddle-girth buckle and at the back of the rider there is a mark that could well represent the top of the saddle seat. The hand reins are visible and also the cheekstrap. The rider appears to wear some sort of spur and a "piked" shoe with a long curved pointed toe. This, as I mentioned above, should be of help in dating; certainly such footwear existed as early as the end of the twelfth century, as can be seen for example in a painting of a "rider out hawking" on a marriage coffer now in Vannes Cathedral.



Horse and rider in the eastern crypt
Graffito of the first half of the 13th century

CHRIST IN MAJESTY AND THE SYMBOLS OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS

This is by far the best preserved graffito in the Cathedral and the only one for the preservation of which positive steps have at some time been taken. Its existence was noted by W. A. Scott Robertson in his book *The Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral* (1880), when he said in a passing reference to the drawing ". . . . At the foot of that rude but remarkable scratching upon the stone pier, which represents our Lord in glory surrounded by symbols of the four Evangelists . . . . its lines have recently been defined with red chalk". The incisions are very deep and the whole drawing executed in a bold, flowing manner, hardly meriting the comment "a rude . . . . scratching". The drawing is behind a plate of glass which has prevented recent defacing, and the red chalk is still to be seen in some of the lines. As a result of the covering the wall behind is filthy and might perhaps benefit from cleaning and lighting. The subject is repeated at Rochester Cathedral.

The central figure is that of a robed Christ. He is seen full face, as is usual with Christ; there is a crossed halo, clubbed nose, eyes with lids, pupils and brows. The right hand is raised in blessing. As is often the case, the artist has allowed two parts of his subject to come into artistic conflict, for on the left side both the hand is visible and also the robe which would be obscured by the hand. The hand was obviously cut after the robe line and thus the latter cuts across the palm of the hand. The knees appear to stick out, suggesting a seated position and showing an attempt to present this figure in three dimensions. On the right hand side of Christ are the eagle of St. John and the bull of St. Luke, on the left appear the angel of St. Matthew and the lion of St. Mark. The eagle is drawn in two dimensions but has a striking head with a sharply curving beak, the eye has pupils, a lid and brow. There is also a well-drawn foot with one rear claw and three front ones. The angel has wings that seem incomplete and it is only the existence of some otherwise inexplicable deep scratches in front of the body that suggest the holding of a book. The face is, however, clear if the perspective is questionable. The bull appears to fly toward Christ, the face pointing upward at an angle of 45°, while on his head are a fine pair of curved horns. This animal should be compared to the bull in the nave of St. Alban's Abbey (published *Antiquaries' Journal*, July, 1954, and *English Medieval Graffiti*, 1967), for the face and horns, though not the posture, are very similar.

THE EAGLE OF ST. JOHN

The eagle, representing the spirit of the Gospels, is frequently drawn. In general the representation is large, covering the whole of a wall face as it does in the two examples at St. Alban's, where it is the only surviving subject matter apart from the bull of St. Luke. In Canterbury, the dimensions of one in the south quire transept, chapel of St. Gregory, is 43 inches square. In the crypt a pair of eagles appear on the opposite sides of an arch just behind the altar of "Our Lady Undercroft" (the easternmost arch of the western crypt) and facing the site of the original shrine of St. Thomas. On one side of the arch the drawing is very clear while on the other the traces are slight, but they are both on stone rows seven to eleven and are of the same dimensions, both the symmetry of design and size are an indication that the drawings were not mere doodling, but had some definite significance. Twice, first in the Christ with the symbols of the four Evangelists and second in the Christ with Becket (?) in his bosom there is a small eagle as part of a larger drawing. The best eagle to describe is the one in the chapel of St. Gregory. This has unfortunately lost most of the head as a stone has been replaced, but there is a great hooked beak visible. The wings are arched and feathers are drawn at the edges of the wings. The breast line has a very sweeping curve suggesting perhaps that the line was drawn before the actual scratching was done. There is then a leg which is six inches wide at the top and has a length to the claw tip of some eighteen inches. The claws themselves, three front and one back, are savagely hooked and of deep cut.

Once, however, the bird depicted is probably the Kladrius or Charadrus, which knows sickness and death. Near a sick man, if unto death, the bird will turn away his head. The white Charadrus is Christ born of the virgin. He drew near to sick humanity when sent by his father, but he turned his face from the Jews. This is situated high up on the wall of the south quire aisle and the bird has his head turned away. The breast and most of the head have been obliterated as the water system for the old organ was fitted next to it until its removal in 1961. The beak is, however, distinguishable as also are the wings, which stretch back and up and are not arched as with an eagle. They end in forked tips.

Christ with Becket(?) in His Bosom

This particular graffito is perhaps the most symbolic one of the series. It is complex and its extreme religious significance must serve as a pointer to the theory that the monks or masons did the scratching.

The centrepiece of the drawing is a figure of Christ with the three arms of the cross clearly incised on his halo. The face has the usual "club-nose", slightly elongated by the artist to avoid doing the "club" part on a join between two stones. The eyes have irises and brows but there is little evidence of a mouth. The right hand is outstretched and is holding a double-bowled chalice. Out of this and with its claws cut over the edge of the bowl, which gives the impression of spontaneous workmanship, there rises the eagle of St. John, the spirit of the Gospels rising from the chalice and blood of Christ. The eagle has one wing arched and wears a crown. The left hand of Christ is also outstretched and grasps the host or paten.

The second face lies in the bosom of Christ and is in half profile with the usual facial features. Once again there is a crown, from the centre of which seems to rise a low mitre, of a style which was introduced in about 1170, and from its back hangs the lappet. Lower down, the cope shows and stretched across it is the pallium. Comparing the crown with some others in the south-east transept and seeing the mitre and pallium, the only conclusion I can draw is that the picture is Becket wearing the crown of a martyr, and in full vestments. This being near to his shrine after 1220 would seem very appropriate. The only alternative explanation is that it is the second figure of the Trinity.

The final figure of the three, is a man with arms outstretched and legs together, pointing downwards, and is almost certainly Christ on the cross. There is again a crown with raised centre and three fleur-de-lys round the circlet. Round his middle he wears a loin cloth and there is a rough torso with ribs visible on each side. The head and hands seem better executed than the lower half. It is as though the artist had lost interest once the significance was plain for there is also no part of the cross visible.

Bishop (Becket?) Blessing

This graffito is on the curved face of a small pillar near the top of the Pilgrims' Steps, up which pilgrims used to come on their knees. It is immediately next to the larger carving of Christ with Becket in his bosom. It was partly obliterated by cement when some gates which once stood at the head of the steps were removed, also damaging a drawing of a torso on the pillar at the opposite side of the steps. There is, however, evidence of a robed figure with a mitre and a martyr's crown. To the right of the figure there is the curl of the head of a pastoral staff and then a pole extending downwards. To the left of the figure the arm is extended, and finishes in a hand of very fine workmanship, though the positioning of the fingers is impossible. The attitude is undoubtedly one of blessing and the distortion is a common one in medieval manuscripts.

Dead Man

This drawing, in a window that has probably always been blocked, shows two figures carrying a dead body, with two further figures looking on. What it is meant to represent I have no idea, unless it be the entombment of Christ. The right hand figure has its face bent over, looking at the dead man. Both his hands are supporting the corpse. The left hand figure, which is depicted with a rather elongated face, appears to be slightly smiling, a little incongruous for a funeral! The corpse itself lies lengthways between the two supporting figures, with eyes closed and the body in a shroud.

NORTH AMERICAN DIARY—MAY 1967

by The Dean of Canterbury

It all arose out of an invitation which I had received in April, 1965, to a conference in Coventry attended by many American and a few Canadian Deans. They had been invited by the Provost of Coventry to spend a week sharing in the life and worship of the cathedral, listening to lectures, taking part in discussions and so on. It was a most interesting conference, in the course of which I got to know a number of the Deans very well. One of them, William Swift, Dean of Davenport, Iowa, asked me if I would pay a visit to Davenport Cathedral during the centenary year of its dedication. I said I would gladly do so, and in due course a letter arrived with the invitation to preach on the 100th anniversary of the laying of the foundation stone, May 14th, 1967. I accepted with alacrity, and when the news got around, three other Deans invited me to visit their cathedrals. Frank Sayre, Dean of Washington; Harold Robinson, Dean of Buffalo, New York State; and Roy Gartrell, Dean of Ottawa, Canada. They also very kindly included Mrs. White-Thomson in the invitation, and so it came about that on Friday morning, May 5th, we left Canterbury in pouring rain, and at 2.30 found ourselves in the Panam clipper jet about to take off from Heathrow airport.

For those who have not experienced it, this moment is an exciting one. There has been the relatively slow, steady, quiet cruise to the runway—a pause—and then all four powerful jet engines open throttle, the great aircraft shudders, begins to move forward, slowly at first but with increasing speed until the wheels are off the ground and the ascent has begun. Swift and steep, and in a few seconds the ground is far below. We are on our way: our first long distance flight: Washington D.C. first stop. I keep a diary and this is how it reads at this point: "Engines rev! Up, up, clouds below. Height 28,000 ft. climbing to about 33,000 ft. Smoother than a train but further to fall." The weather was glorious, there was a lovely cloud ceiling beneath us, good reports of weather conditions over Washington were coming in at regular intervals, we were flying to schedule, and so at 5.30 p.m. Washington time (10.30 p.m. our time) we landed smoothly and in bright sunshine at Dulles Airport.

We were met by Kenneth and Anne Sharpe. He is a Canon of Washington Cathedral, and they had both visited us in Canterbury the previous year. They made us instantly welcome with that warm-heartedness which is so distinctive and attractive a characteristic of the American people. We had five most interesting days in Washington as guests of Canon and Mrs. Sharpe and their two sons. Dean Sayre was on a Sabbatical Year, and though we saw him and Mrs. Sayre once or twice during our visit, they were not officially in residence. But we do not forget that it was Frank Sayre who invited us to Washington. We were taken on a tour of the city on the Saturday morning which we greatly enjoyed, were entertained to lunch at a club, and in the evening the Sharpes invited a number of friends to meet us at dinner. The city of Washington is very beautiful. It is carefully planned, well laid out, free from skyscrapers, and it contains many very fine buildings and such notable memorials as those to George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and John Kennedy. The cathedral is situated at the highest point in Washington. It is pure Gothic in style and when completed will add a new and dominating splendour to the city.

On May 7th, the sunday after the Ascension, I preached to a large congregation at the 11 o'clock Sung Eucharist; and the following day we visited the Capitol, a magnificent marble-domed building, and at 11 o'clock I said the opening prayers in the Senate. This was an interesting experience for me, as was also the visit to the House of Representatives and the lunch attended by a number of Senators and their wives, to which we were invited. In the evening we were guests at a private dinner party, and on the following morning we visited Gallaudet College, the only college for the undergraduate deaf in the world. We saw many of the students talking to one another by means of one-handed finger spelling. The same night I spoke at a banquet attended by about 800 members of the National Cathedral Association, a gathering of Friends of Washington Cathedral from all over the States. I spoke on "The Role of Cathedrals in the World To-day" to an audience which was encouragingly responsive. The Bishop of Washington and Mrs. Creighton were among the guests.

Our visit to Washington, where we had been shown the greatest kindness and courtesy, not least by Bishop and Mrs. Angus Dun, who entertained us to a delightful supper on the Sunday, came to an end on the following day. By 11 a.m. we were once more flying above the clouds on the way to Chicago. The journey took us over vast areas of farm land with its chequerboard patterns of fields and occasional long strips of road or river. We were met at the airport by William Swift and his wife Pat, and together we drove the 180 miles or so through the State of Illinois and across the Mississippi to the large industrial city of Davenport. Here again we were made to feel completely at home by all five members of the Swift family. We spent nine very happy days with them, and no effort was spared to make us feel that we were part of the life of the cathedral and the diocese. The Diocesan Convention was in session during our visit, and on May 11th we attended a dinner as guests of Bishop Smith and the clergy of the Diocese of Iowa. On the next day we attended the Diocesan Convention, where we received a standing welcome from the delegates, and in the evening I spoke at the Convention Banquet. This was a most gay and relaxed occasion in every way.

After my speech, I was presented with the Golden Key of Davenport by the Mayor, who assured us that the city would always be open to us. We attended another session of the convention on the saturday, and on this occasion my wife was presented with a bead necklace by a Sioux Indian which had been made by her mother, and the Dean proposed a vote of thanks to "the Dean of all Deans from the Cathedral of all Cathedrals".

On Whit Sunday there was the great Centenary Sung Eucharist. I preached to a large congregation. The service was televised and my sermon was recorded in full on television later in the day. I also preached at a Graduation Evensong in the afternoon. On Whit Monday I attended a Rotary lunch, and in the afternoon we were guests of the cathedral sunday school. Our presents included flowers, a booklet containing the signatures of the children and two cement birds! On Whit Tuesday, Mrs. White-Thomson was chief guest at a ladies' lunch. She made a speech and was presented with a charming painting. In the evening we all went to watch a game of baseball. We enjoyed one of the notices which read: "No pepper in front of stands".

Another day we spent driving along the banks of the Mississippi, a mighty river lined for miles with pleasant houses and picturesque villages. That evening we experienced a sudden violent storm. The temperature rose to about 90°, the sky grew black and the wind blew hot and fierce. It was accompanied by thunder, lightning and rain, and we were glad to reach the safety of the Deanery.

It is not possible to mention by name all who gave us of their generous hospitality, or to list all the presents we received, but special mention must be made of the gift of five sets of most beautiful hand-made Communion linen. This was a present to the cathedral from Miss Moore of Davenport. The linen is Irish, the embroidery was done in Majorca, and the making up by Miss Moore and her staff.

We had been shown so much kindness during our stay in Davenport that it was hard to say good-bye when the time came to continue our journey. The Dean drove us to the Chicago airport on the following day, and from there we flew to Buffalo City in New York State. We were met at the airport by Dean Harold Robinson, Marie his wife, and the youngest of their four children, in a car fitted with siren and red light. The Dean explained that one of his official duties was to act as chaplain to the Fire Brigade. He had to attend fires whenever they reached proportions dangerous to life or limb.

Buffalo is a great industrial city with vast steel works spread along the shores of the lake. A city of smoke and dirt, of skyscrapers and its share of slums and coloured districts as well as attractive suburbs. The cathedral was built about 1855, though there has been a parish in existence for 150 years. It was this event which the parish was celebrating in 1967. We visited the cathedral and then drove on to the Deanery. We had not been in the house more than an hour or so when the fire alarm sounded, and in a matter of minutes we found ourselves in the "police" car, red light flashing, siren screeching, being driven by the Dean at high speed through the streets of Buffalo to the scene of the fire. Luckily there was damage only to some derelict property, and after about 40 minutes we drove home again. Later in the evening a riot in the city was reported, but again there was no serious trouble. But both these incidents helped us to understand the grave responsibilities which rest upon the clergy and ministers in cities like Buffalo. They indicated also the extent to which the Dean was expected to take, and indeed took, his full share as an ordained minister in the life of the city at every level. Numerically the Episcopal Church of the United States is small, but its influence is out of all proportion to its size.

On Trinity Sunday I preached at the cathedral Sung Eucharist at 11 o'clock, having previously talked to a class of adults. This was a great service attended by a big congregation. Coffee was served after the service, to which the congregation was invited. Many came and we did not get away until 1.35 or thereabouts. I was presented with a "golden" buffalo on behalf of the Mayor, a history of the parish and a piece of stained glass. There followed lunch at the Deanery, a Confirmation taken by Bishop Scaife, a dinner party in the evening, and on the following day a drive to the Dean's country cottage and another dinner party in the evening.

So our visit to the States came to an end. The impressions left are of a people immensely generous and hospitable. In the circles in which we moved there was certainly no complacency about the state of the world or of conditions in their own country. Everywhere we found anxiety about Vietnam, about the colour problem. Everywhere there was a desire to help the under-developed countries, a desire to help those who wished to be free to live and speak and worship according to their traditions. The people we met—and we met a great many people—were politically alert, and morally and spiritually alert too. The services on sundays were very well attended, the congregations reverent, attentive, co-operative; the giving generous. It is true that the number of Episcopal churches is small, and this no doubt partly accounts for the large congregations; it is true that American society is affluent; that there is a prodigious amount of money about. But may it not be that the churches are full and the support given to the work of the Church at home and abroad is generous because these are ways in which American Christians can show their love for God; above all perhaps these are ways in which they can express their determination not to be destroyed by their own affluence; not to lose sight of things eternal in a world of such abundant temporal riches. It is surely something to be thankful for that in the most powerful country in the world there should be, in large sections of the community, this care for the things of God, this concern for people everywhere as children of God; that there should be a generous idealism based on christian principles.

We left the warmth of the Robinson family's home on May 23rd. Canon Pettitt of St. Paul's Cathedral very kindly drove us over Peace Bridge into Canada, through attractive countryside to Niagara. We spent some time looking at the two great falls, one on the American side and the other, the Horse Shoe falls, on the Canadian side. The whole area is well laid out with lawns, flower beds and flowering shrubs; and all the time in the background there is the thunder of the waters. I was reminded of the story of the American and the Yorkshireman standing together before the falls, and the American saying: "Do you realise that a hundred million gallons of water flow over these falls every minute?", to which the Yorkshireman replied: "I see nowt to stop't."

From Niagara we drove along Lake Ontario until we reached Toronto. We went straight to the cathedral, where we were met by another Coventry link, Dean Gilling. After lunch he showed us the University, including Trinity Chapel and Hart House (shades of Dr. Burgon Bickersteth of deeply respected memory), and we then had a look at the new city buildings. The City Hall is particularly striking, built as it is in two gracefully curving blocks. There is also a fine piece of sculpture by Henry Moore, set in most attractive surroundings. The cathedral itself is a fine 1853 building with some interesting stained glass. We spent the night in a guest room in Diocesan House, and the following day the Dean took us round the diocesan buildings, a magnificently equipped $100,000 project. He introduced us to Bishop Snell and to members of the cathedral and diocesan staff. He then took us to lunch in what I described in my diary as "a supermarket to end all supermarkets", one of those establishments that make most of the stores in England look like wigwams. Before we left, the Dean gave us a beautiful Eskimo carving of a sea bird. At 4 p.m. we took off from the airport at Toronto. The weather was fine, though bumpy enough for us to have to keep our safety belts fastened. On the back of each seat were printed the mystic words: "Use bottom cushion for flotation".

At 5.10 we reached the airport at Ottawa, where we were met by another of our charming hosts, Dean Roy Gartrell. The drive into the city was a memorable one. Ottawa is a beautiful city. Perhaps its most notable feature is the 1,000 acres set apart for experimental farming. But all around we saw beds of bulbs, especially tulips (given by Queen Juliana in thankfulness for the war years which Her Majesty spent in Ottawa), shrubs, flowering trees, especially maple. We were introduced to Grace Gartrell and their three children, and in the evening we were entertained by one of the churchwardens and his wife, whose house, designed by himself and built mainly of wood, situated in a lovely spot in the Gatineau Hills, was completed in six weeks! The next day we met a number of the cathedral clergy and their wives for a talk, discussion and lunch. The cathedral was built about 1850 and is very similar in design to the larger churches of the same period in our own country. After lunch we drove to Montreal, a distance of about 120 miles. Montreal is built on an island and is one of Canada's loveliest cities. We drove straight to EXPO 67, the whole of which is built on a specially constructed island, a remarkable engineering feat. The Dean took us first to the British pavilion. He had already seen it himself and was determined that we should see it before going anywhere else. It proved to be a splendid mixture of the serious and the gay. There were pictures of the leaders in the history of our nation in every walk of life, in the arts, in politics, religion, the sciences, in industry and technology. There was a section on "Britain To-day": its children and youth: its mini-skirts and pop singers: one of the exhibits was an ordinary hedge with some such caption as "There is nothing so blissful in all nature as an impenetrable British hedge". It was good to see the visitors really enjoying their tour round the British pavilion. It was good to have evidence that the Englishman has not lost the capacity to laugh at himself. It was altogether a most refreshing and encouraging exhibition of what the British people have given and are continuing to give to the world. We next visited the French pavilion; a beautifully designed building inside and out, with fountains and lights, and each exhibit beautifully displayed, science, art, jewellery, dresses. After a buffet supper in the Canada restaurant we left the exhibition and my wife and I spent the night at the bishop's house. We met Bishop Maguire at breakfast next day, and then made our way back to the exhibition. We began by visiting the Scandinavian Pavilion; Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Iceland, containing amongst other exhibits some lovely woodwork: we also saw a film on modern Sweden. We then visited a smaller pavilion, "Man and the Ocean", which included a real-life Bathyscope demonstration, and from there to "Man the Explorer" with exhibits of precious stones, a film of earthquakes and volcanoes and an illuminated computer which showed the world population figures increasing at the rate of approximately two births per second. Then to the Telephone Building with its astonishing circular panoramic screen showing a film of Canada in which the audience is completely involved, not only in sight and sound but apparently in movement as well. Next the U.S.A. Pavilion, a remarkable crystal ball construction containing many fascinating exhibits, including an actual space capsule; the Czechoslovak Pavilion, showing much lovely glass, and finally another smaller Pavilion, "The Labyrinth", which took us on a journey in which each of us was the hero and in which we met various beasts. The climax came with the discovery that the

The Archbishop of Canterbury on the occasion of the presentation to him of the Freedom of the City of Canterbury with the Mayor (*right*) and the Town Clerk (*left*)

By permission of the "Kentish Gazette" in discussion, but much also in just listening, for this is the way to get to know people. I believe links were forged between us which will not easily be broken. Everywhere we found real affection for Canterbury Cathedral and for our country and people, and, for us personally, there was loving kindness all the way all the time. To our hosts and hostesses in Washington, Davenport, Buffalo, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, we record our most sincere thanks.

THE BANNER

When agreeing to undertake the design and organisation of the work for the banner I realised that such a group project involves several major problems.

The design has to take into consideration the number of people taking part and their varying ability. It was arranged therefore so that several groups of helpers could work on the banner at the same time, and that the embroidery on each section should be completed by groups or individuals before being applied to the background.

Two large frames were used, one for the front and one for the reverse of the banner and the smaller sections were completed on slate frames.

It was agreed that a dark navy Thai silk should be used for the main fabric and a similar fabric for all main areas.

To contrast with this various silk and wool fabrics were used for the applied strips which form the smaller blue cross. Over and between these were applied silk cords made by members of the group. These were chosen to give a stronger, more definite effect than that which could be obtained by surface stitchery.

I intended that the main focal point should be the Canterbury Cross on which is superimposed the Friends' symbol. This cross was worked in two main parts. The precise detail of the embroidery in this was decided after some experimental samplers had been worked. This area is in varying gold coloured silks. Raised chain band and Portuguese stem being chiefly used, together with some applied silk pieces and lines of couched jap gold thread. The centre of each group in this area is of padded gold kid highlighted by a gold paillette.

The "F" of the Friends' cypher was originally intended to have textural embroidery but it was decided after a great deal of this had already been worked that a plain applied shape outlined with a thick cord gave the work greater impact. The "IX" was also worked in surface stitchery on cream satin with surface stitchery and cord and applied after completion. The lettering on the reverse was worked in couched gold coloured silk and the main upright of each letter emphasised by a cream and gold cord. Each letter was worked directly on to the background over a padding of double felt. The cypher at the bottom was worked independently and applied.

M. ARNOLD

CONTENTS

PAGE

PATRONS, PRESIDENT AND OFFICERS OF COUNCIL 2

EDITORIAL 3

ST. ANSELM AND CHRISTIAN UNITY (THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY'S ADDRESS AT BEC ABBEY) 4

LIVERPOOL'S TWO CATHEDRALS, BY VERE E. COTTON 7

WHAT IS A CATHEDRAL?—AND WHAT FOR? BY GEOFFREY BECK 13

THE CATHEDRAL ORGAN, BY ALLAN WICKS 20

CHURCH AND UNIVERSITY, BY THE REVD. F. S. TELFER 21

THE CATHEDRAL CITY AS AN URBAN FORM TODAY, BY LEWIS BRAITHWAITE 24

THE LORDSHIP OF CANTERBURY—REVIEW ARTICLE BY M. ST. JOHN PARKER 32

MEDIEVAL GRAFFITI OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, BY J. HORSFALL TURNER 36

NORTH AMERICAN DIARY—MAY, 1967, BY THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY ... 45

THE BANNER, BY M. ARNOLD 52

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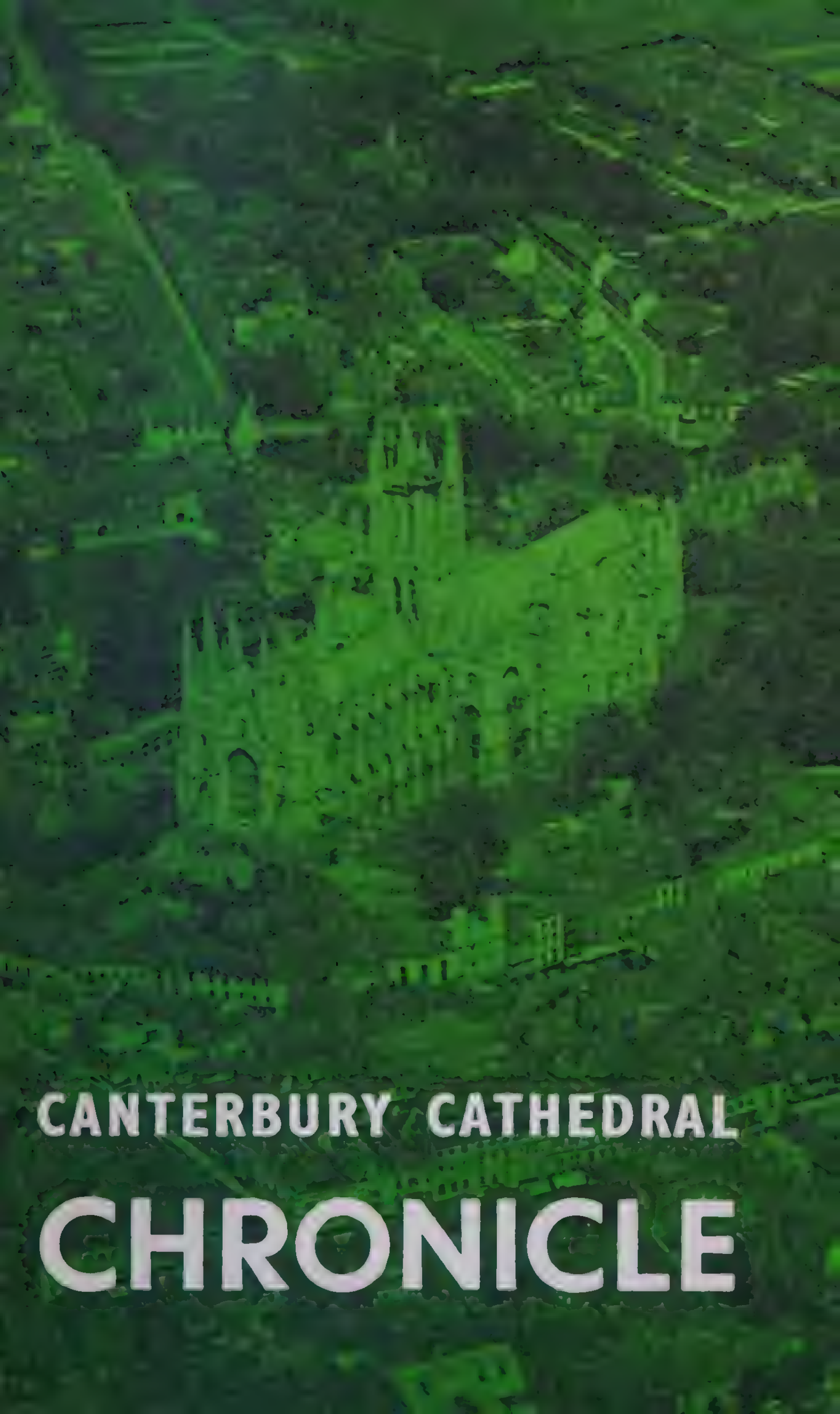

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL
CHRONICLE

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THE CANTERBURY
CHRONICLE

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No. 63

EDITORIAL

We are most grateful to the distinguished contributors to this issue of the *Chronicle* for so kindly providing articles which are both informative and stimulating. All are intimately concerned not only with church music, to which a number of them contribute the major use of their time and talents, but with music in its widest sense. In presenting an issue of the *Chronicle* dealing with this subject, we are following the policy of trying to cover one subject in each number, and attempting to explore rather more fully than has hitherto been possible one important aspect of the life of the Church in general and the cathedral in particular, in a way which sets it in its widest possible context. We hope that the contents will appeal to all members of the Friends and also that the articles will interest wider circles.

HERBERT WADDAMS.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

SYDNEY CARTER—Leading writer and composer in the folk song tradition.

CHRISTOPHER DEARNLEY—Organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

PETER HURFORD—Organist of St. Alban's Cathedral.

PETER LE HURAY—Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.

MICHAEL ST. JOHN PARKER—History Master at the King's School, Canterbury.

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ERIK ROUTLEY—Congregationalist Minister, leading writer on Christian hymnody.

HERBERT WADDAMS—Canon Residentiary of Canterbury Cathedral.

ALLAN WICKS—Organist of Canterbury Cathedral.

CHURCHES AS CONCERT HALLS

WHY STOP AT MESSIAH?

by Sydney Carter

There is hardly a cathedral in the land which has not echoed, in the last year or so, to the sound of the guitar. Folk singers and pop singers are moving in; to the delight of some, and the disgust of others. Adrian Henri has recited, Julie Felix has protested, Donald Swann has sung a poem by a Buddhist monk. St. Paul's is planning, for this autumn, a huge Festival of Youth with gymnastics, singing, dancing and a display of books and fashion in the crypt.

Well, why not? No reason at all. But why are we doing it? If we only do it as a gimmick, if we only hope to fill the pews with the under twenty-fives at almost any cost in the vague hope that by merely being in a church, if only for an hour, they will pick up the habit of church-going, then I think our hope is vain.

To lure them in is not too difficult. One way is to put on a concert of folk music, pop, or poetry to raise funds for Oxfam, Shelter or one of half-a-dozen charities for which the young are glad to sing and play, or listen and pay up, in church or out. In the Anglican cathedral at Liverpool about two thousand came last year to a concert on behalf of Christian Aid. In they came, and out they went. How many, I wonder, ever came back again, excepting for another concert?

To measure the benefit of operations such as this purely from the point of view of church attendance would bring disappointment. If, on the other hand, we think of the benefit to Christian Aid or Shelter the result is more encouraging. Big halls are hard to find, and cost a lot. By providing an auditorium the Church can serve the people, even where the people will not serve the Church. It can help to raise cash for a deserving cause and provide a place for entertainment.

It can provide an auditorium not only for the more popular kind of music, but for Bach, Britten, and Scarlatti too. Without the use of churches and church halls the Edinburgh Festival, to mention only one, would find itself hard pressed to find accommodation for the feast of culture which it offers once a year. So far, so good; but is it really good enough? Is there not some way by which the Church could integrate itself more positively, more creatively, with the dramatic and musical activity to which it so generously (or so profitably) plays the host?

I think there is. But it might demand a wider view of what is Christian, or even religious, than some churchgoers are prepared to take. Here I would like to quote from the *New Christian* of June 29th, 1967. The editor poses a question:

> "*Whether the Church has an exclusive relationship with God which enables it to put Him on offer to the rest of the world or whether God is already present and at work in the world and is calling the Church to respond to Him wherever He may be.*"

Most Christians would say "Both". Even a non-Christian might agree with this. God, he might say, has a special (and to that extent, exclusive) relationship to each and every creature in the universe: including not only churches (Christian, Buddhist, or otherwise) but poets, playwrights, and composers and also performers of every variety. Each is, to some extent, the vessel of a revelation; and, if all truth is one, then each revelation must be complementary to all the rest. Even if the Christian revelation is (as Christians claim) the greatest revelation of them all, I doubt if we shall understand it, in all its richness, if we do not see it in the light of all the other revelations too. There is more than one way of looking at Jesus. To look at him through African or Asian eyes may teach us much about him that we couldn't see before; even if (as in the case of Gandhi) the eyes are those of one who would not call himself a Christian. Freud and Buddha, Nietsche and Che Guevara may force us to become aware, in ways that are strange and even terrible, of the implications of our own religion. God is indeed "already present and at work in the world". To respond to him, even when he does not wear the name of God or Jesus, even when he may be labelled "antichrist", is indeed the duty of the Church.

Christians of all denominations are becoming painfully aware of this; painfully, because it may require the sacrifice of some of their most cherished hopes—including the hope that "at the name of Jesus, every knee shall bow". To the *fact* of Jesus—to the essential truth that he proclaimed—every knee may indeed bow, at the end—but those who bow may know it by another name. They may come to it by other means than baptism in a Christian church.

Every Christian must bear witness to the truth as he can see it; and, to that extent, he will be a missionary. But the only utterly convincing way of preaching Christ, the only miracle that nobody can deny, is Christ-like action. This may indeed convert the world, in the sense of changing it; but if we insist on measuring that conversion by the number who "declare themselves for Christ" by calling themselves Christians, we may make a big mistake. We do well to remember what Jesus said about all those who cry "Lord, Lord!" and yet are rejected, and those who say they will not do the Father's will, yet do it. It may be part of God's plan that some of those who follow Christ most faithfully may find it impossible to bow down to his name at all. To insist that they should do so may be the subtlest form of idolatry.

If all this is true (and many will disagree with the whole or part of it), then I think it follows that the function of Christians is not only to preach, but to *listen*; and one place where they can do it is a church. I would advocate the use of churches as concert halls and theatres not only on the grounds that non-Christians may thereby be brought within the orbit of the Church, but also on the grounds that Christians may thereby be made to listen to what non-Christians are saying. Many Christians are too insulated from the activity of God outside the church; if it is brought within the actual building of the church, they may be forced to give an ear. Maybe the people who profited most from the Christian Aid concert in Liverpool Cathedral were not the non-Christians but the Christians themselves. They, perhaps, were the ones who stood in need of a conversion.

What we need is a more creative kind of dialogue not only between Methodists and Anglicans, but between Christians and non-Christians. This, of course, has already started. Marxists and Roman Catholics have already met in formal dialogue with (no doubt) great profit to them both. But the most fruitful kind of dialogue may be in action rather than in speech: when Christians and non-Christians get together to fight racial discrimination, or merely to put on a concert to raise funds for Shelter. By the mere fact of having so many buildings—church halls, crypts, cathedrals—in which things can be done, the Churches are in a good position to make advances. But sometimes the boot is on the other foot. The Round House, at Chalk Farm, is about the size of a small cathedral; but it is a temple dedicated to the arts, not to organised religion. Yet here, during the autumn months, week-end television will be putting on religious programmes. This mutual invasion of one another's territories by the world and by the Church could do a lot of good to both. The world, as well as the Church, could become a better listener. In religion, as in psychotherapy, listening is half the battle.

NEW CHURCH MUSIC

by Christopher Dearnley

The last thing we need is new *church music*. The Church has always been astute enough to make use of music, and there is today no shortage of supply of the sort it thinks it needs, whether music for choirs or popular experiments for congregations. But we still go on asking for a specialist product, peculiar in its conception, intention and execution. The Church, as long as it is alive, will always have a place for new music; but if it persists in demanding an artefact called "church music" it will only call up narrow-minded pieces reflecting the limited vision of its sponsors.

At one time great artists did not feel constrained by being members of the Church, and were able to express their vision of life within and often specifically for this body. In music alone one has only to think of Byrd's motets, Bach's cantatas, Haydn's masses. But increasingly since the eighteenth century the greatest religious music (in its widest sense) has been composed for the concert hall, and even that still written for a liturgical purpose has often been eschewed by the Church (*e.g.*, Stravinsky's Mass with wind instruments). We are forced today to recognise that the lead once given by the Church in social work, in creative thought, and in the arts is now assumed by people outside its formal membership.

The Church must refresh itself in the mainstream of artistic activity, but it can no longer do this by being a pale patron of insipid and inoffensive art—whether the easy anthem commissioned for choirs of doubtful ability and taste or the pink stained glass window to commemorate a defunct dignitary. The rôle of patron has been taken over by more affluent bodies of government, commerce, and broadcasting; but the Church can still, if it is true to itself and to its faith, provide the inspiration and the stimulus to evoke fresh responses from the artist, to voice timeless truths in a new way. It becomes irrelevant whether or not the result is what we think suitable, "churchy" in style, and the problem becomes reduced to a relatively simple one of ability to present the artist's vision—not "how shall we sing the *Lord's* song" but how shall we "sing unto the Lord a *new* song".

Cathedrals have the greatest opportunities, if only they would stop worrying about popularising themselves and would turn away from being repositories of a "heritage" of English church music to tackling the ever increasing demands of the artist. Many cathedral choirs have the enthusiasm and ability to respond to a wider task than is theirs at the present, but a much more generous and far seeing approach to their potential is essential if they are to express adequately in modern terms the insights and explorations of contemporary composers.

Parish churches of necessity are confined in one respect to serving the needs of a small community. Cathedrals can and should be more flexible, giving a prophetic lead to the Church as a whole. It is not enough for them to be an unwieldy diocesan mother figure, a sort of ecclesiastical Aunt Sally, and it can even be restricting for them to be seen as a super-church with ecumenical responsibilities. They must lead Christians, of whatever denomination, to look beyond their holding an exclusive faith to exploring their interrelation with all bodies that seek the vision of God and that endeavour to live by his light and in his love, and to learn from the lesson of the Old Testament Israelites who were forced to review their rôle as God's chosen people. The Church like the universe itself expands infinitesimally in a series of explosions, and it cannot in the twentieth century afford to view itself as the thirteenth tribe. As Jewish Christians had to accept gentiles into their fellowship, so must we learn to be in communion with all those who are bound by the love of God whatever their formal creed. This aim not only makes the cause of inter-church union seem parochial but also focuses our attention on the tasks of communication between men of diverse faiths and backgrounds.

This is where cathedrals come in. In two ways:

1. By reason of the size and beauty of their buildings they cry out to be grandiose, poetic, and not confined to "small talk"; they have the opportunity to explore expressions of faith which can be grasped without the hindrance of verbal language, the formality of a prosaic medium of communication.

2. They have the means, through music, to speak in an universal tongue and (of equal value) through the same means to release the imagination, stir up consciousness, and create a sense of shared mystery and awe. A local or national church has to devise forms of worship for its own clientèle, but the more painstakingly these are prepared the more likelihood there is of loosing those vital elements in prayer that have a universal application. A cathedral building cries out through its awesome silence to be enriched with poetry that fills the stillness with mystery and majesty, and moves all into awareness and response.

Music (that is, "artful music, artfully sung") can provide this poetic expression. Less determinate than words it can be more widely understood. A means of communication unbounded by language barriers, it can also in a brief moment of time cut through temporal restrictions. It can, through the compositions of the "old masters", link us with the faith and wisdom of earlier ages, and also look to the future through the vision of contemporary composers. It can, like the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi's "mantra", provide a ritual phrase which, when we have focussed our minds on its sound rather than its meaning, helps to break down tensions, settling us into a low key where awareness of God becomes possible—to quote the Maharishi, "first God-consciousness has to be created and God within then comes". Or it can stimulate creative thought, provoking us into active, out-going response. But, above all, music is an activity of prayer, indeed is prayer, intelligible to simple and sophisticated alike.

A cathedral choir's primary function then is to convert the dry notes of the printed page into a substance that will direct and hold our profoundest thoughts, and turn music into prayer.

It is one problem to ensure that cathedrals have choirs that are capable of and equipped to undertake this responsibility, and another to help people realise that a life of faith cannot fully be expressed without music. "The musician may sing to you of the rhythm which is in all space, but he cannot give you the ear which arrests the rhythm, nor the voice that echoes it"; but this must not stop us from trying to train the voice and develop the ear, from doing our utmost to bring people to an understanding of music as prayer, a 100% valid activity, material in its operation and spiritual in its significance. Communication by the language of words must be seen as of only temporary convenience—a baby manages without it—and music must be allowed to lead us to that final state of silence where we can at last without any impediment hear the still small voice of God.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHRONICLE

(AUTUMN 1968)

SUPPLEMENT

FRIENDS' FESTIVAL, 1968

Friday, 28th June—YOUTH DAY

Five hundred people from schools in different parts of Kent came to the cathedral for a special service at 2.30 p.m. on Friday, 28th June. The weather was deplorable, but their cheerfulness overcame its gloom.

A number of boys and girls took part in the service, which had been specially devised for the occasion by the Precentor, and which was based on incidents from the life of St. Peter, whose festival fell on the following day. The reading of the scriptural passages was excellently done, and the boys of the choir sang delightfully. The whole service carried an implicit message for those taking place, and was imaginatively planned and executed. It was followed by even the youngest present with concentrated attention.

Afterwards all went to the Deanery garden and enjoyed tea provided by the County Hotel in a marquee. This proved to be a better arrangement than using the Shirley Hall, and it was organised with efficiency and despatch. After tea the boys and girls either went round the cathedral in guided parties or attended a musical programme in the Chapter House, which had been arranged and was presented by Mr. Allan Wicks with his usual gaiety and aplomb.

Saturday, 29th June—FRIENDS' FESTIVAL DAY

Being St. Peter's Day a Sung Eucharist took place in the Crypt at 10.15 a.m. Afterwards, at 11.30 a.m., morning music in the Nave was provided by the boys of the choir under Mr. Allan Wicks, with an audience of between one and two hundred. It was noticeable that a number of chance visitors took the opportunity of listening, and thoroughly enjoyed the music.

The main service was Festival Evensong at 3.15 p.m., followed by the dedication of the cloister bay restored in memory of Frank Hooker. During the service a dramatic change had come over the weather, and the ceremony in the cloisters took place in brilliant sunshine which continued for the rest of the day. The Hooker family had an honoured place at Evensong and the subsequent dedication.

Tea was then served in the Deanery garden by kind invitation of the Dean and Mrs. White-Thomson, followed by the general gathering in the Chapter House at 5 p.m.

The Dean, as Chairman of the Friends, opened the meeting by referring to the year's achievements, and in particular drew attention to the new constitution of the Friends which came into effect that day. It had been officially sealed by the Dean and Chapter after long discussion with all concerned. A new Council had already been appointed under its terms. He expressed thanks to all those who had given help of all kinds to the cathedral through the Friends.

Mr. Young gave a short account of the financial position and mentioned the important contributions through the Friends to the repair of Bell Harry and of the Organ.

The main speaker was Dr. William Urry, the Cathedral Archivist, who gave a talk entitled "Canterbury Cathedral under the Tudors". He promised to take his hearers on a 16th century tour round the cathedral beginning and ending at the Christ Church gate. So rich were his memories and imaginations, however, that the tour had to be abandoned half way in favour of a precipitate return to the Christ Church gate some time after the meeting was scheduled to finish. The fascination of his knowledge and comments evidently captured his audience, who thoroughly enjoyed Dr. Urry's inimitable style and presentation.

The Master of the Eastbridge Hospital, the Revd. Derek Ingram Hill, who recalled that he had been a Friend ever since his attendance at the first meeting 40 years ago, proposed a vote of thanks which was heartily endorsed by all present. The Friends present also showed how glad they were to see the Dean back after a long and painful illness.

The first meeting of the new Council under the new constitution followed immediately at the Deanery.

GIFTS AND LEGACIES FROM 1st MAY TO 31st JULY, 1968

The Dean and Chapter wishes to express gratitude for the following gifts to the Cathedral.

	£	s.	d.
General Donations			
Mr. and Mrs. C. M. Thorp	2	2	0
Mr. W. H. Bonus	5	0	0
Anonymous	5	0	0
Miss W. M. Anderson	2	2	0
Mrs. G. Whitewell	3	0	0
Mr. S. J. Rowbotham	5	0	0
Mr. Atkins		10	0
Mr. E. J. Horne	1	0	0
Anonymous		10	0
Mr. F. A. St. Charles	5	0	0
Dr. C. H. McKenzie	10	0	0
Miscellaneous			
Miss Helmore (Organ)	1	0	0
Mr. V. C. Cordingley (Festival)		10	0
Dover College (Collection)	3	19	1
Donations Following Tours			
Sprites Lane Junior School, Ipswich	1	0	0
St. Augustine's Hospital, Canterbury	2	2	0
Bedgebury Secondary Modern School	2	2	0
St. Paul's Primary School, Norbury		10	0
Holy Trinity C.E. Primary School, Ramsgate		10	0
Silverdale Primary School, St. Leonard's	2	0	0
Chiddingstone C.E. Primary School	1	0	0
Dulwich College Preparatory School	1	0	0
Slade County Primary School, Tonbridge		15	0
Legacies			
Mrs. M. E. Lambarde	100	0	0
Mrs. A. H. Beaumont	100	0	0

We are most grateful to Miss L. Baynes for her gift of a *Canterbury Psalter* from the library of the late Dr. Churchill.

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CHRIST, CANTERBURY

SERVICES AND SPECIAL EVENTS, 1968-1969

1968

Sept. 1. 6.30 p.m. Sermon on behalf of the Diocesan Association for the Deaf by the Revd. P. T. W. Corfmat, Chaplain.
2. 3.15 p.m. The Boy Choristers of Coventry Cathedral sing Evensong and at 5.30 p.m. from Tuesday to Friday inclusive.
13. King's School Winter Term starts.
14. 3.15 p.m. The Lay Clerks return from holiday. Evensong sung by the full choir.
15. 3.15 p.m. Commemoration of the Battle of Britain at Evensong.
19. Choir School Term starts.
21. 10.15 a.m. Sung Eucharist for St. Matthew's Day.
3.15 p.m. Admission of eight Choristers and four Side Leaders at Evensong.
27. 3 p.m. Annual Service for the Archbishop's School.
28. 3.15 p.m. The Past Choristers attend Evensong.
29. 10.30 a.m. Ordination of Deacons and Priests in the Nave by the Lord Archbishop.

Oct. 4. 3 p.m. Wedding of Miss V. Mount in the Quire.
5. 5.30 p.m. Evensong: R.S.C.M. Diocesan Choirs' Festival.
11. 11.15 a.m. British and Foreign Bible Society Intercession Service in the Undercroft.
13. 3.15 p.m. Evensong, attended by members of the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen.
14. 5.30 p.m. Evensong: Annual Teachers' Service.
18. 10.15 a.m. Sung Eucharist for St. Luke's Day.
20. 3.15 p.m. St. Lukestide Service for Doctors and Nurses.
23. 8 p.m. First of a series of four Autumn Lectures under the general title of "The Ferment of Faith"—Canon David Jenkins lectures on "Christian Faith in God".
26. 10.30 a.m. Opening Service of the Diocesan Conference.
28. 10.15 a.m. Sung Eucharist for St. Simon and St. Jude's Day.
30. 8 p.m. Second of the Autumn Lectures, entitled "Christian Faith and World Religions" by Canon Douglas Webster.
31. 11 a.m. Sung Eucharist attended by the Greater Chapter.

Nov. 1. 10.15 a.m. Sung Eucharist for All Saints' Day.
6. 8 p.m. Third of Autumn Lectures, entitled "Christian Faith and Secular Faiths" by Dr. Leslie Paul.
10. 10.50 a.m. Remembrance Service.
13. 8 p.m. Last of the Autumn Lectures, entitled "Presenting Christian Faith" by Dr. Glyn Simon, Archbishop of Wales.
30. 10.15 a.m. Sung Eucharist for St. Andrew's Day.

Dec. 1. 8.15 p.m. King's School Carol Service in the Quire.
7. 7.30 p.m. Performance in the Nave by the Canterbury Choral Society of *Sea Drift* by Delius, *Symphony No. 7* by Sibelius, and *Te Deum* by Bruckner.
13. 2.15 p.m. Concert of Christmas Music in the Chapter House by the East Kent Federation of Women's Institutes.
King's School Winter Term ends.
14. 4 p.m. Cub Scouts' Gift Service in the Undercroft.
18. Choir School Term ends.
21. 10.15 a.m. Sung Eucharist for St. Thomas's Day.
3.15 p.m. Canterbury Rural Deanery Advent Carol Service.
22. 10.30 a.m. Ordination of Deacons and Priests in the Nave by the Lord Archbishop.
25. 7 a.m. and 8 a.m. Holy Communion at the High Altar.
10.30 a.m. Matins in the Nave. Sermon by the Lord Archbishop.
11.45 a.m. Sung Eucharist.
3.15 p.m. Evensong.
29. 3.15 p.m. Procession to the Martyrdom at Evensong.
6.30 p.m. Service of Nine Lessons and Carols.
30. 6.30 p.m. Carol Service in the Undercroft for the Insurance Institute of East Kent.
The Choir is on holiday until January 4th.

1969

Jan. 1. 8 a.m. and 11 a.m. Holy Communion. There is no Sung Eucharist as the Choir is on holiday.
6. 10.15 a.m. Sung Eucharist for the Feast of the Epiphany.
18. Beginning of Week of Prayer for Christian Unity.
25. 10.15 a.m. Sung Eucharist for the Conversion of St. Paul.
7.30 p.m. Closing Service of the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity. Sermon by the Very Revd. the Lord McLeod.

A new opera will be performed by the boys of the Cathedral Choir School this autumn. Like "The Boy from the Catacombs", which was produced three years ago, it has been specially written for them by Alan Ridout and is called "Children's Crusade 1939". The libretto is by David Holbrook, based on a poem by Berthold Brecht. It will be performed in the Chapter House on November 28th, 29th and 30th. Enquiries and bookings to the Opera Secretary, 18 The Precincts, Canterbury.

DEATHS OF FRIENDS

We record with reverence and honour the deaths of the following Friends:—

Ashenden, H. Campbell, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., F.R.I.C.S.	Canterbury
Beaumont, Mrs. A. H.	Tunbridge Wells
Catty, Brigadier T. C., C.M.G., D.S.O.	Tenterden
Cohen, Sir Hubert B., Bt., O.B.E.	Sevenoaks
Coxe, Mrs. L. Seymour	Canterbury
Filmer, Miss D.	Sittingbourne
Florence, Mrs. M. E.	Herne Bay
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Harvey, The Revd. J. G.	Attleborough
Hawksfield, Mrs. K. T.	Walmer
Hooper, Miss C. E.	Margate
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Lowndes, Miss C. E.	Westgate-on-Sea
Mellor, Lady	London, W.14
Merrill, H. W., Esq.	Ottawa, Canada
Naish, Miss I. A.	London, S.E.9
Ottaway, Miss D. M.	Broadstairs
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3 The Precincts, Canterbury.

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I attach my cheque for *£ : s. d. being the amount of the subscription for one year.

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Signed, sealed and delivered by the said Covenantor.

L.S.

(Signature of Covenantor)..

In the presence of:

(Signature of Witness)...

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ENGLISH CATHEDRAL MUSIC IN HISTORY

by Peter le Huray

Thomas Morley, the Elizabethan musician, wrote charmingly of music's power "to draw the listener in chains of gold by the ears to the consideration of holy things". In any discussion of music's relationship to the church, this must surely be a fundamental assumption. Perhaps the most moving and certainly the best known tribute to church music's mysterious power is that by John Milton, which comes at the end of *Il Penseroso*:

> But let my due feet never fail
> To walk the studious cloister's pale,
> And love the high-embowèd roof,
> With antique pillars massey proof
> And storied windows richly dight',
> Casting a dim religious light:
> Then let the pealing organ blow
> To the full voiced choir below,
> In service high and anthem clear,
> As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
> Dissolve me into ecstasies,
> And bring all heaven before mine eyes.

The idea that music can afford, so to speak, a glimpse of the infinite, has since appealed to many writers, and not least to the Cambridge musician Thomas Mace, author of *Musick's Monument* (1676): in the following extract from the preface to that book he particularly stressed music's function as a moral agent, controlling the baser emotions and fostering "good desires":

An Epistle to all ignorant despisers of this Divine Part of Music.
Kind ignoramus, whosoe'er thou art,
Not having skill in this most glorious art;
Nor knowing note, and careless e'er to learn,
I prithee read this book: thou'lt then discern
Thy gross defect; and the great necessity
Of learning something in this mystery . . .
This art excelleth all without control;
The faculties it moveth of the soul:
It stifles wrath, it causes grief to cease;
It does excite the furious mind to peace:
It stirs up love, increaseth good desires;
To heaven alone, its centre, it aspires.
It kindles heavenly raptures, and doth make
That soul that's thus enflamed for to partake
Of heavenly joys.
And canst thou think that God made this for nought?
Or that its mysteries should not be sought,
But be neglected by his chiefest creature
Man?

Nor today are such ideas at all out of fashion. Igor Stravinsky in a recent anthology of essays and sketches entitled *Conversations and Commentaries* (Faber, 1959) has observed that for many people "music is as well or better able to praise God than is the building of the church and all its decoration".

To the unmusical, such concepts can mean little, if anything, and it is hardly surprising that in less tolerant days attempts were made by the unmusical to reduce cathedral music to the simplest kinds of congregational psalmody and hymnody. The earliest threat to the "cathedral" tradition dates as far back as 1552, the year in which the first revision of the *Book of Common Prayer* was completed. A comparison between the rubrics in this revised version, with those of the original reveals a marked swing against the use of non-congregational music in public worship, and especially in the service of Holy Communion. It is clear, too, from an examination of contemporary documents that many English theologians, in consultation with their non-conformist colleagues abroad, were anxious to push the reformation further. Indeed it is not fanciful to suggest that, but for the accession of a catholic monarch, Mary Tudor, in 1553, the continued existence of professional choirs in cathedrals and chapels would have been in jeopardy.

The second threat to the cathedral tradition dates from the years immediately following the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558. There was much discussion at the time of the function of music in worship, and a general feeling that if music was to be allowed at all, it was to be of the simplest kind. One of the homilies from the second set (published in 1562) reveals an acute distaste for pre-Reformation musical practices and a concern that the reformed Church should avoid such "false religion".

> [the idolatrous] see the false religion abandoned, and the true restored, which seemeth an unsavoury thing to their unsavoury taste; as may appear by this, that a woman said to her neighbour, "Alas Gossip, what shall we now do at church, since all the saints are taken away, since all the goodly sights we were wont to have are gone, since we cannot hear the like piping, singing, chanting and playing upon the organs, that we could before?" But dearly beloved, we ought greatly to rejoice, and give thanks to God, that our churches are delivered out of all those things which displeased God so sore, and filthily defiled his Holy House and his place of prayer . . .

And in the lower House of Convocation at that time there were debates centering around the proposals for the abolition of "all curious singing and playing of the organs". However, the danger to the choral tradition was perhaps less immediate than it had been in 1552, if only for the very good reason the Queen (herself a skilled musician) was concerned not only that the musical reputation of her chapel choirs should be maintained, but that (in her own words) they should be "augmented and increased".

The third, and last external threat to our choral tradition, of course, occurred at the time of the Civil War. Nearly every chapel and cathedral bears witness to the puritanical vandalism of these turbulent years. For musicians, the Civil War was a catastrophe of the greatest magnitude. Not only were organs destroyed, and choirs disbanded (there were no choral services of any kind for some fifteen years or more between 1645 and 1660) but much of the finest music was destroyed or mutilated beyond recovery.* A vivid account of the methods used by the Parliamentary forces, in their campaigns against "popish practices" is contained in a letter dated August 30th, 1642, from the Vice-Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, Dr. Paske, "to an honourable lord":

> . . . about 8 of the clock Sir Michael Livesey, attended with many soldiers, came to our office[r]s and commanded them to deliver up the keys of the church . . . The soldiers, entering the church and quire, giant-like began to fight against God himself, overthrew the Communion table, tore the velvet cloth

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* Cathedral choirs then sang from manuscript sets of books copied as often as not by the singing-men themselves, under the direction of the organist.

> from before it, defaced the goodly screen of tabernacle work, violated monuments of the dead, spoiled the organs . . . forced open the cupboards of the singing-men, rent some of their surplices, gowns and Bibles, and carried away others, mangled all our service books and *Books of Common Prayer*, bestrowing the whole pavement with leaves thereof—a miserable spectacle to all good eyes" (*Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral*, C. E. Woodruff and W. Danks, p. 324, 1912).

With the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, and the restoration of choral services in cathedrals and chapels throughout the country, the choral tradition has continued uninterruptedly to the present day. But although the principle of the choral service has not seriously been challenged since then, its continuance has for much of the time been endangered, especially during the early years of the nineteenth century, by indifference and neglect. Indeed, a case could be argued that the material foundations upon which the choral tradition depends have been steadily eroded since the very time of the liturgical reformation. The issue centres, quite simply, upon the problem of finance. Inflation is no specifically twentieth century disease; money declined sharply in value throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, and the decline continued (rather less rapidly perhaps, and with some intermissions) through the seventeenth century and indeed up to the present day. The effect of this has been twofold: stipends have in general been insufficient to attract men of the highest calibre; whilst at the same time cathedral choirs have become steadily smaller in size. The first point was already being insisted upon as early as 1600: the following extract comes from an anonymous treatise on Cathedral Music dating from about 1615, now in the British Museum (Roy. MS 18.B.XIX.

> First for the church, ye do and shall see it so slenderly maintained in the cathedral churches and colleges, that when the old store of musicians be worn out which were bred when the music of the church were maintained (which is like to be in a short time), ye shall have few or none remaining . . .

This situation is still, unfortunately, with us.

The second point is best put by Samuel Sebastian Wesley in a broadside entitled, *A Few Words on Cathedral Music and the Musical System of the Church*, dated 1849 (reprinted by Hinrichsen, No. 1961 b, 1961):

> It may appear [he begins] too sweeping an assertion to declare that *no* Cathedral in this country possesses, at this day, a musical force competent to embody and give effect to the evident intentions of the Church with regard to music; but such is the

> state of things nevertheless . . . To begin with the arrangement of Church Music; it is antiphonal. It must, from the very nature of its composition, be sung by TWO CHOIRS.
>
> The least number of men which can constitute a cathedral choir capable of performing the service is twelve; because each choir must have *three* for the solo and verse parts, and an extra *three* (one to a part) to form the chorus: six on a side, that is . . . *not one* cathedral [however] . . . has the requisite number of singers in daily attendance.

Wesley might well have driven home the point by citing the Henrician statutes of the new foundation cathedrals (c. 1540). The smallest choir then thought to be practicable was indeed one numbering twelve men and between six and ten boys—such were the choirs at Bristol, Carlisle, Chester, and Gloucester. But in many cases these numbers were handsomely exceeded. The Westminster Abbey choir, for instance, numbered twenty-four men and ten boys, as did the choirs of Winchester Cathedral and Canterbury. Several others closely approached these in size, including Durham and Worcester, and the old foundation choirs of St. Patrick's Dublin, Exeter, Hereford, St. Paul's, Wells, and York. There were, too, the choirs of St. George's Chapel (twenty men and ten boys) and the Chapel Royal, which at full strength totalled thirty-two men and twelve boys. In Wesley's day, and indeed in our own, the norm seems to be the absolute minimum: six men (one to a part) plus from ten to sixteen boys. The lopsided musical balance that results from this decimation may readily be imagined. At the present time the hoardings in the London Tube Stations bear urgent appeals for money to save the choirs of our great London churches: Westminster Abbey, Westminster Cathedral, and St. Paul's. We should not imagine that the situation is now any less urgent than it was in Wesley's day.

LANGUAGE AND MUSIC

by Allan Wicks

"In the beginning was the Word", so we are told by the Apostle, but what is the end of the Word? He uses the Greek language to express the Greek idea of the Logos, and this is tradition since Western civilisation has received its verbal character from its Greek and Judaic inheritance; this inheritance we take for granted. It is at the root of our experience, and most people find it impossible to imagine any form of commerce outside it, since we live through discourse or conversation. But we should not assume that words are the only medium through which the manifestations of the mind are possible. There are modes of intellectual reality and the expression of feelings which are not based on language, but on other energies, such as pictures or musical notes. Moreover there are actions which are based on silence. It is difficult if not impossible to speak about them, for how can speech convey the living vitality of silence? Of course, examples can be cited from oriental metaphysics where the soul ascends from the ordinary matter of life, through the insight, to an ever deepening silence. In Eastern disciplines the beginners are taught to be suspicious of language and to break through it to something more real. You know the sound of two hands clapping, what is the sound of one? That's simply a beginner's exercise, and these ideas have their counterpart in the western tradition. St. John of the Cross, for instance, expresses the exaltation of the soul as it breaks loose from ordinary words, but to our viewpoint this sort of experience smacks of mysticism, and although we speak respectfully of mysticism it is probably true to say that most Western thinkers would agree with Cardinal Newman's joke when he said that mysticism begins in "mist" and ends in "schism". The works of Aquinas, the whole mass of mediaeval literature, the Renaissance Divina Comedia all bear witness to the idea that every truth and every reality, except for a small marginal mystical difference, can be contained in the Word, but this is now no longer a universal belief. During the seventeenth century quite large tracts of reality and action begin to slide away from the possibilities of verbal statement; up to the seventeenth century the general content of science was descriptive. Mathematics had a long history of symbolic notation, but even that was shorthand for verbal propositions which could be applied to the framework of language. Mathematical thought was on the whole tied to what was material, what was experience; and experience was ordered by language. But with the arrival of analytical geometry and the calculus, mathematics is no longer dependant on language as it had been known; mathematics becomes a rich and complicated independent language. The history of that language is one of gradual but inexorable untranslatability.

Between ordinary languages, however widely differing they may be in syntax, there is always the possibility of finding an equivalent word. Even complicated riddles in remote Eastern languages can be given a Western equivalent. But it is not possible to relate the vocabulary of higher mathematics to that of ordinary speech. You cannot even paraphrase it; you can paraphrase a poem, and the paraphrase may well be the merest shadow of a poem, it may even be rotten prose, but there will be some relevance between the two. In the language of advanced mathematics, however, the spaces, the relation between spaces, the events with which they deal, may have nothing to do with our senses as we know them; they are real in themselves. Of course, the implications of this are tremendous, because language has been divided into two sections since the seventeenth century. Large areas of knowledge are closed to all but those who speak the language of mathematics. One cannot describe the relationship of atomic particles in present-day language; one can only describe them if one is able to do so in the language appropriate to them, that is to say, mathematical terms. There may be an illusion of success in translating these things into language, and it has been tried, as, for instance, when describing modern forms of music particularly the forms of semi-improvisation, we attempt to describe them in terms of indeterminancy, but this is probably nonsense in any case. So we get what C. P. Snow calls the two cultures. Up to the early nineteenth century, or later, men of outstanding intellectual capabilities could feel relatively comfortable in the two spheres of humane and mathematical culture, but now it is not possible, since the difference between them is so very wide, and one can see this in the obviously felt need of humanists to apologise for their own culture; they feel the chasm which separates them from the mathematicians, and they sense the huge world of reality which mathematics has opened up, and thus they feel obliged to apologise, as it were, for their own purely aesthetic and limited sphere. Not that they have been passive under this feeling; on the contrary, it will be noticed how much literature and history has become extremely factual. It is no longer very fashionable to write history in romantic terms; now it is a bare, strict, clinical fact that is required. Until this century, for the past 200 years the great vehicle of thought on all matters in literature was probably the novel, but the novel is no longer a popular vehicle. The books that sell well are those which deal with facts, admittedly dressed up as fiction, but nevertheless facts. The results of these disciplines are not altogether happy. Whereas history had formerly been written as art, many history books now can scarcely be called literate. In the world of economics where formerly language was used to explain the developments of economics, now the graph, or the chart, or the number is used. In the sphere of sociology, words have been replaced by the table of statistics, a curve, a graph, or where words must be used, then terms are used from the sciences.

It seems clear that the retreat from the authority and range of verbal language plays a tremendous rôle in the history and character of modern art. In painting, as in sculpture, realism, in its broadest sense, corresponds to that period in which language is at the centre of intellectual life; a landscape, a still life, a portrait, a representation of some event out of history, or legend, are the performance in colour and texture of something which can be expressed in words. We can give an account in language of the subject of the work of art; we can say that this is the River Thames, or this is the portrait of Bacchus, and so on. In each case the words bring to mind a graphic equivalent so that the artist and viewer are talking about the same thing, though probably the artist says things which are more profound. It is precisely against these verbal equivalences that modern art has rebelled. It is because so much eighteenth and nineteenth century painting seemed to be an illustration of words—in other words a picture book—that post-impressionism broke away from words. It was Van Gogh who declared that the painter paints not what he sees but what he feels. What is seen can be transposed into words, but what is felt can occur at some other level. Abstract art rejects even the possibility of having an equivalent in language; the picture doesn't have a title—it is called "Colour number six", or "Composition number ninety-four". Where there is a title it probably is meant to mystify; it is certainly not meant to describe the work. In the majority of cases abstract expressionism doesn't communicate anything at all; the work either stands very silent or tries to communicate in the language of apes. The problem of atonal, concrete, or electronic music is a different one, because music is only related to language where it sets a text, or where it is music for a specific formal occasion, or programme music seeking to describe a deliberate scene. Music, of course, has always had its own vocabulary and its own symbolic expression. Indeed, it is with mathematics the principal language of the mind when the mind is in a condition of feeling without words; yet even so there has been a distinct movement away from the grasp of words. A classical sonata or symphony is not in any way a statement of words except in some very simple instances. One can imagine perhaps in Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony* the storm. There is no equivalent between what is said in music and what would be said in words. But there is in classical forms of music a type of grammar existing in time, which can be allied with language. Language cannot translate into its own terms the processes of sonata form, but the statement of successive subjects, the variations on them, the development of them, and the recapitulating of them does convey an experience with which language has its equivalent. Modern music has no such relationships. In order to achieve something of its own it departs very violently from the domain of exterior meaning. It will not recognise any possibility of relating music to any verbal form of experience. Just as in the pictorial arts no titles are given, or if they are, they are misleading, a piece of modern music will often not have any title other than a generalised number, or just the title of "Composition", and—perhaps more important—music seems to have been drawn towards some imitation of mathematical language. I quote from an issue of *The Musical Quarterly* a discussion of Twelve-Tone Invariants—"The initial pitch class of 'S' is denoted by the couple (0, 0), and is taken as the origin of the co-ordinate system for both order and pitch numbers, both of which range over the integers 0/11 inclusive, each integer appearing once, and only once, as an order number and a pitch number. In the case of order numbers this represents the fact that 12, and only 12 pitch classes are involved; in the case of pitch numbers this is the arithmetical analogue of octave equivalents (congruent mod. 12)." Music that is produced by this kind of approach may make fascinating sounds and be of great technical interest, but the mind behind it is obviously moving away in the most determined manner from what could be described as humane literacy, and it must be said that the sound of music produced by this type of mind is generally a savage, depersonalized noise.

In some ways literature has moved towards music; the poetry of Rimbaud and Rilke abandons sense for sound, and great masters such as these have been successful. Dylan Thomas is another case, probably of much less compelling genius, but nevertheless using the music of words instead of their meaning. The result in some cases has been that this poetry is only fully expressed when it is actually set to music. For instance, *Pelléas et Mélisande*, Maeterlinck's book, was used almost intact by Debussy as a libretto for his opera, and the same is true of *Salome*; again, Wilde's book was used almost as it stood by Richard Strauss; music was already there in the language. T. S. Eliot's *Four Quartets* are based on Beethoven's actual String Quartets, and novels have been written in which the design is specifically related to the shape of music. This movement towards music is seen also as a sociological phenomenon. The libraries of modern people are filled not with books but with gramophone records, and the gramophone record has taken the place of books as a gift amongst friends. Part of the reason for this is that music can be listened to with less sense of intellectual strain, and the pace of modern life undoubtedly leaves people vitiated and exhausted and able only to enjoy relaxation of art as a sort of backcloth to their leisure. Yet there is a deeper reason and it is that music alone can fulfil the requirements of a really disciplined system of communication. It can be unique and untranslatable and yet can be immediately understood. In music our deafened noise-bedevilled lives may regain a sense of the inward motion and temperance of individual being, and the society in which we live something of the vision, now lost, of human accord, and through music art and science may reach a common language.

In the realm of church music this has special significance. Young composers are unwilling, or unable, to write music for the church, and I suggest it is because they can feel no sympathy with the texts, not because the texts are necessarily archaic, but because instinctively they feel no sympathy with language as such. It doesn't matter whether the language is that of 1662 or of 1968, it is still irrelevant. The young composer, as so many young poets and painters, feels the fragmentation of the world of language, and he can either use the modern techniques to imitate the language of science, or he can retire into silence. If he uses the language of science, he cannot then set texts, or, if he does set them, performance is so difficult as to be almost impossible, except by small choirs of which all the members have perfect pitch and voices of extreme athleticism. It may be that we are slipping into another twilight or even deepest night, in which literature and art will cease for a time, or it may be that the composers who are still able to manipulate the language of music as it has been known, and who still feel the relevance of words, will rise again and serve the Church as in centuries past. But silence from the poet or musician is not necessarily a bad thing when one sees the torrents of books which pour forth from the presses every week of every year, or receive the mountains of music from the music publishers. The suspicion enters one's mind that this is a sort of ceaseless chatter with which we seek to deafen ourselves to the realities of the world. Is it not better sometimes to be silent until there seems some good reason to break it?

LITURGY AND MUSIC

by Herbert Waddams

The words "service" and "liturgy" mean exactly the same thing: the only difference between them is that the first comes from a Latin and the second from a Greek root. In the course of time different associations have come to be attached to the words, but it is as well to consider their identity of basic meaning when we come to discuss the character of Christian worship. But we must face the fact that when we get to the adjective "liturgical" there is no accurate substitute for it, and it has to be used. In particular the phrase "Liturgical Movement" (and others like it) refers to the effort of the last few decades to rethink the meaning and object of Christian worship.

Anything which changes modes of Christian worship affects Christian musicians, and the thinking which is carried on ought to be a process in which musicians are engaged, just as closely as clergymen, or theologians, or historians. The actual performance of Christian liturgy is as much the domain of one as of the other and, at a time when the responsibilities of the laity are always being emphasised, it seems only logical to stress the responsibility of Christian musicians to be fully engaged in the dialogue which rethinking involves.

But if discussion is to be fruitful, it is most important that the attitudes taken should be right from the start. The relationship between musicians and the clergy should not be regarded as a kind of power politics, with the aim of achieving a balance of power, in which the claims of each are reasonably fairly met. This approach, which is far more common than it should be, is fundamentally false, and if it is unconsciously adopted, it will make it impossible for ever for either party to see things in their right perspective, and that will result in severe loss to the Christian faith and to the Church. Both priests and musicians are ministers and stewards of the mysteries of God, called together to serve the People of God in the most sacred moments of their Christian lives when they come to take part in their corporate act of worship.

And this brings the question of the relationship of the two parties (musical and clerical) into the right perspective. They must first have a right view of their common ministry in the Body of Christ. When this is realised, both are faced with the same basic questions, which must be explored and answered before there can be any understanding of what either or both of them ought to do. For the musician this may be particularly difficult. He has made music the centre of his life, and everyone else is the thankful beneficiary of his skills and interests. But music in the Church's worship cannot be discussed merely from the abstract point of view of music itself, because worship is not primarily a musical activity. Even if we were to maintain that music is the most important element in worship (which we may for the moment allow for the sake of argument), it still does not answer a single question about what kind of music it ought to be. It is in fact a total waste of breath to discuss whether church music is advancing or retreating, is good, bad, or indifferent, until we have asked the question—what is the Liturgy for?

Perhaps we may here be allowed a small diversion. There is no such thing as "religious" music which can be distinguished from other kinds of music, if we are to use the word in its deepest sense. In the fullest sense of the word "religious" music is good music, and bad music is "irreligious" music: religious music is what glorifies the God of music, and irreligious music is what betrays him. But music has different associations in men's minds, and this has to be taken into consideration when deciding what kind of music ought to be associated with man's worship of God.

But we must return to the basic question—What is the Liturgy?—for this is the question which the Liturgical Movement has been asking and trying to answer. Experiment and research over the last fifty years have resulted in much enlightenment about liturgy, and have opened many new vistas, while at the same time old and favourite assumptions have been attacked and discredited, even though they continue to occupy far too many Christian minds still.

An interesting and significant feature of the Liturgical Movement is that it is to be found everywhere in Christendom. It has sprung to life in an extraordinary way at the same time in Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Anglican Churches all over the world. There is therefore nothing particularly "high" or "low" about it, in the bad old sense of the words, and it would be tragic if the prejudices attached to those adjectives were allowed to invade this field. Indeed, one of the great virtues of the movement is that it shows promise of bringing together traditions which have hitherto held aloof from one another, because both are coming to understand better what their services ought to be.

We are living in an age of experiment in liturgical matters, so that it would not be of much use to discuss all the permutations which might be possible in practice. But it can be said that the Liturgical Movement has exposed two principles which everyone who knows anything about Christian worship now accepts. The first is this: that the centre of Christian worship always has been and always ought to be the Service of the Holy Communion, and that this service ought not to be an exercise for the devout who like to go as an optional extra, but must be the very heart and sinews of the worshipping congregation of the Church Sunday by Sunday.

What is the effect of this in the context of the Church of England? It must be that Matins can no longer be considered desirable, or even bearable, as the chief service of Christian worship on a Sunday morning, and that the arrangement of the services must show that it no longer occupies this position. This is not an attack on Matins. There is no reason why Matins should not continue to be sung in cathedrals and churches where resources permit it, and where congregations wish to attend it, *as an extra*.* But to make Matins the chief service of the Christian congregation is to deny the insights of the Bible and Christian history as to what is the centre of Christian worship. It is impossible at the same time to maintain that the Communion is the central act and to behave in a way which denies it; deeds speak louder than words.

The second principle—of equal importance—is that the service of the Communion is not something "taken" by the priest, in which the rest join in from time to time, or even all the time; it is something *done* by the People of God, gathered in that place, the local manifestation of the Catholic Church of God throughout the universe. They are doing it as God's People, and the priest and the organist and the choir are helping them to do it. Neither priest, nor organist, nor choir has or can have any other function than to help God's People to *do* the liturgy, to *do* their service. This is the ministry in which the musicians share.

But what do these principles imply in practice?—several things of the greatest importance. Of these the first is that it is the Communion service itself which is the act of the People of God. Not only must the People take part by being present, but also by their active participation in what is going on. This is not the moment to consider ceremonial, which is an important outward expression of what is being done; we must confine ourselves to music. The People of God there gathered must chiefly be engaged in making their own the words and music of the Liturgy itself. It is only by doing this that they can be engaged in an *act* together. The common singing of the text is the outward expression of what they are doing inwardly.

This means that we must see what belongs primarily to the People as a whole, and it is plain that it is the very words of the service itself, and *not* hymns, which are optional extras, and do not form an essential part of the Liturgy. Certainly hymns may be sung when they help to engage the People in the liturgical action, but they are not part of it themselves and can be dispensed with very easily. Many of our services are completely upside down, for we find that the People sing only the hymns, while their liturgy is taken away from them and given to the choir. In the Communion service the choral parts are for the most part essentially congregational in meaning and scope, for example: the *Kyrie* is the cry for mercy from the People of God coming before his throne; the *Creed* is the united response of faith to the hearing of the Word of God; the *Sanctus* is the triumphant outcry of common praise along with the angels and company of heaven as God comes among his People; the *Our Father* is the climacteric moment of the consecration when in the words of Jesus himself we come to be renewed with his life-giving gift of himself; the *Gloria* once more the united song of praise with the angels. To take these away from the People is to throw out of gear the meaning of the service, and by implication to teach everyone a false view of what it is all about.

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* Cathedral weekday services raise questions of their own which are not considered here.

In all this the musician has a vital part to play, but he can only play it if he deeply understands, and is committed to, a true view of what the Liturgy is, and is meant to be. The primary function of the music for the Liturgy is to carry the words and to express the devotion and liturgical acts of the People of God. This means that the music must always be the servant of the words, and must never "take over" or be over-prominent in relation to them. If there are few suitable settings for the purpose, then there is a new challenge to composers to find new ones, which will enrich the liturgical and spiritual experiences of those who use them.

There are occasions when the choir can sing pieces on its own—perhaps during the time of the Communion or at the end, so long as it is subservient to the purpose of the service and does not distract, or hold it up, or get in the way between the People of God and what they are doing. The whole situation is a new challenge to musicians, composers and performers alike, and it envisages a new relationship between choir and people, for the choir, too, has to learn what the inner character of the Liturgy is, and how it can help the People to *do it themselves* more fully and more deeply.

In a recently translated book on the place of music in the Liturgy, Fr. Gélineau has some searching words about the temptations besetting the composer, which apply *mutatis mutandis* to the organist and singers: "For fear of being looked down on by aesthetes or technicians, through anxiety not to be thought naive or ignorant, the composer will hardly dare to restrict his use of means to that economy which alone will permit the divine realities to be seen through worship. Not content with the few notes which would suffice for a recitative to support the sacred words, he feels constrained to wrap them up in superfluous melismata or to bury them in sophisticated harmonies. Disdaining simple melody, which alone allows a crowd to express itself easily and prayerfully, he is interested only in pieces which need a trained choir to interpret them". (*Voices and Instruments in Christian Worship*. Burns Oates. p. 215).

For the Christian musician there can be no fulfilment of his musical gifts except in the service of God, whether outside or inside a church building. Within it he is called to a special ministry of assistance to the People of God, one whose importance can hardly be exaggerated. But like all truly Christian ministries it can only be discharged rightly in humility of mind and in readiness to use his own gifts and skills for the benefit of God and his People.

(NOTE.—The word "People" has a capital letter throughout because it is one of the New Testament titles for the Church. Reprinted by permission of the Royal School of Church Music.)

THE PLACE OF THE CHOIR SCHOOL IN MUSICAL LIFE

by Alan Ridout

No form of school can have a history more selfless than that of the choir school. Implied in its very being is a purpose as elevated as anything that humanity can aspire to. For it is the function of the choir school to train children to serve a concept beyond themselves, beyond their land, beyond this temporal life; and through their singing to assist others toward perceptions which may finally prove the only enduring ones.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that choir schools should throughout the ages have attracted remarkable children, and not only trained them to musical skills, but to have developed in them rare sensibility and insight.

Many musicians, now celebrated, received their early training in choir schools, not only Englishmen like Gibbons and Purcell, but such figures as Palestrina, Haydn and Schubert. Nor does the long list of famous names cease with the 19th century: 20th century musicians like Sir William Walton are the product of such schools.

The benefits to the world, direct and indirect, of this sort of school then, have been incalculable; and this becomes the more impressive when it is realised that only a small minority of children have passed through them.

The dual lives of choir school boys forms, in a natural way, the classic education of the cultured. Such an education enriches and civilises the heart; it shapes an aristocracy of the spirit. The music the children sing heightens the words and their meaning; their meaning reflects on the ultimates of human existence.

The lives of choir school children are on one side like those of others, but there is the crucial extension that their formal schooling receives daily implementation in art. And the art of music forms a discipline of a rigour inconceivable to outsiders. It is not an imposed authoritarian discipline, but springs from the work itself.

A day which, in Canterbury choir school at least, begins with instrumental practice soon after 7 o'clock, where a choir practice takes place just after breakfast, where up to three hours of music—and five on Sundays—form one part of a day that also includes a normal amount of school-work, and which ends at 8.30, is indeed full. It plainly has to be tightly organised and disciplined.

Could there be too much music for the children? It may appear so on paper, but the children at Canterbury themselves provide a different answer. For at the end of a heavy day, full of music, the sign that they are free is often that pianos start up and raucous singing commences.

Again, one may ask, with such a schedule to adhere to, are the boys deprived of play? While it is true that they have less spare time than other children, they play, if anything, with greater vivacity. Games have little time to degenerate into squabbling, and often have a wild gaiety and party delight about them.

Indeed it has long been a *cliché* about the Canterbury choir school that it has a strikingly happy atmosphere. The school is also small enough for every individual to count in a vital way; it is like a large, well-run family of individuals with a similar purpose—a community in fact.

The necessarily tight organisation of the school by no means produces dullness or similarity of outlook. Furious debates go on about musical preferences and it is not without significance that the school has in fairly recent years produced a poet, and a novelist, as well as musicians that include the leader of *avant-garde* music in England.

I have taught music in schools; I have taught at colleges of music and at universities; I have broadcast series of educational talks; yet nowhere have I found music taught in ways closer to the ideal than at Canterbury choir school. For it is surely ideal that, whilst learning intricacies of musical techniques, and practising them, music students should perform daily to a professional standard with each other, for others, in a way that will not arouse personal vanity, but a steady will to improve. By a freakish combination of circumstances this is what happens at choir schools. It is partly because it is being done so well, so solidly, and with so little fuss, that it is not better known about. Because it does not persistently flash its work to fashionable markets or illustrate short-lived theories, it is easily passed by. This can be tragic; one choir school has died this year, suffocated in one of the most materialistic parts of London. Another will close next year.

What, then, of choir schools and the future? Before indicating ways in which, in my opinion, they might profitably develop, I would emphasise that I do not think it simply a matter of "catching up"; for there is much that the modern educationist could learn from the way choir schools are run.

As situations change ideals too must change. Visions of new ideals spring from a healthy dissatisfaction with what already is, or part of what is. They may begin by being personal and individual; but they may become general when enough individuals find that they are dissatisfied in the same way.

Therefore, though I record personal discontent tentatively, I draw some confidence from an awareness that I am not entirely alone.

Firstly, I am disturbed that the sort of education that choir schools can bestow is not available to girls as well as to boys.

Certainly it is a psychological truism that boys and girls in the age range 8-13 do not normally have much in common, may even be hostile to each other; but with a shared enthusiasm for music the situation ceases to be normal. Nothing cuts through barriers of sex, class, or race more swiftly or completely than a passion for art.

As far as singing is concerned, considerations of uniformity of tone are stoutly argued by church musicians as a reason for segregation of boys and girls—though they rarely agree, characteristically, on the sort of tone that should be produced. Individual voices make different types of sound; so they do at different ages. It is the choir trainer's task to weld a unity from differing sounds; and it is certainly nonsense to say that a mixed children's choir cannot produce a uniform sound. It is possible that a well-trained one could produce a greater variety of sound.

The notion that church music might suffer from not being sung exclusively by boys and men seems to me to be part delusion and part an indication of small-mindedness. And frequently the arguing of this hotly debated, but essentially trivial, point is an example of fiddling while Rome burns. How much more likely is church music to suffer from faulty or unimaginative performances!

Unimaginative performances of church music, for a number of reasons, are commonplace (though not, I hasten to add, at Canterbury). Some stem from the often pitiful narrowness of outlook of church musicians. Many concern themselves hardly at all with the central figures of musical history—Bach excepted, of course. This seems to me to be obliquely responsible not only for the safe dullness of many performances, but the general impoverishment of church music as a whole. For narrowness of taste feeds off itself, generating greater narrowness, and finally leads to the practice of an incestuous and anaemic half-music lethal to the life of the Church.

What, therefore, is necessary is a broadening of the mind of the church musician, not by courting a short-lived second-hand form of pop music, but by encouraging in him a serious awareness of those qualities which lie toward the centre of human consciousness which are touched upon by the greatest composers of all periods.

This extension of musical outlook might be greatly accelerated if choir schools were to take in musically gifted children who are not primarily singers. Then an equal training in both secular and sacred music would arise naturally and spontaneously; and the divorce of sacred and secular music, so carelessly permitted for so long, might stand some chance of being ended.

These, however, are hopes for the future. The present hope must be that the public, and through the public the state, may realise what an educational near-miracle can exist within the precincts of a cathedral—and in time.

THE MUSIC OF SILENCE

by Peter Hurford

One of today's largest industries is travel. Businessmen travel to make money; Mr. and Mrs. Jones and family travel on holiday; a temporarily ethereal starlet travels compulsively ("I just want to keep on travelling, darling"); LSD provides travel away from oneself, although a few are using a special form of it to try to communicate with their deepest selves.

Everybody's moving these days: being in two places at once is a status symbol to be aimed at, and an object in which we are being progressively aided by communications experts. It is the art of communicating while standing still which is dying out. The simple pleasures of conversation are being slowly attenuated by television and mass entertainment media; most politicians lost the art of oratory a decade ago; and as physical communication gets easier, spiritual contact and the communion of personalities becomes steadily more difficult.

Even communication with oneself gets more and more complicated. Whereas Wordsworth found himself in the Lake District, and Keats while listening to a nightingale, it has become quite the thing today to travel even as far as India in case one might find one's Self there.

Travel and communication are almost synonymous. Follow the adverts: "Get away from it all! Escape!" But while it is true that escaping to meditation might help in the search for Self, it is also true that meditation starts at home. Three journeys round the world have convinced me that nothing is less conducive to meditation than the constant hurly-burly of travel: this is the way to lose one's Self, not to find it. "What is our life if full of care, we have no time to stand and stare".

Standing and staring, sitting and listening: absorption: the prayer of silence. Other churches might do well to follow the example of that group in which silence is already so important a part of worship, and whose shining serenity is so impressive.

All language starts from the premise of silence. If all were talk, where would be understanding? Communication results from the premise of enquiry—the silence of expectancy. The words "be still and know that I am God" are perhaps more necessary of understanding today than at any time over the past 1,900 years. What we refer to today by the word "silence" is "nothing": yet true silence implies an expectancy, and is to me one of the most exciting states in which I can be: not for the silence itself, but for what is going to break into it, be it bird-song, rustling trees, music or words. For me, that which breaks the silence I afterwards realise has sometimes been a prayer: nothing conscious but nevertheless an acute subjective awareness of something which utterly transcends any beauty which it would be in my power to create.

Some people "pray" in words—silent words from the heart, or words spoken aloud; others "pray" through the emotive power of some media, visual, aural, or both; most people are blessed with senses which allow and sometimes command them to "pray"—to be utterly humble and obedient.

One of the senses most conducive to prayer is the sense of hearing: prayer is helped when silence is broken by something understandably and consciously beautiful. Sometimes this can be natural phenomena; for people in church however, there are only two options—speech or music. If those responsible for breaking the silence in church—priest and layman—realised that their doing so constituted a possible desecration, there might be shorter sermons, less announcements, and fewer organ interludes: there might also be larger congregations.

Music's great justification in church is to help people find themselves and to find God, by interposing beauty into silence. The church musician's job is to provide music which justifies itself by introducing such beauty: and this can only be done through humility—through the realisation of one's own limitations as well as those of one's choir. A simple anthem sung proficiently and with feeling achieves far more than a difficult work through which the choir stumbles and the congregation sits with awed embarrassment.

The contemporary composer's task is to provide the church musician with beauty drawn from the musical language of today. It is not always easy for the church musician to discern that which is effectively beautiful from the plethora of music which rolls off contemporary presses. The music publisher has the initial—and unenviable—task of selecting the potentially good from the definitely bad; but the music which eventually reaches the ears of the people is, in the end, the result of the church musician's personal taste; and it is he who eventually dictates to the publisher what type of music should be published and what should not—simply by buying copies.

The type of music which suits one congregation is anathema to another; but what is quite certain is that no great art form ever progressed, nor has the spiritual climate of a race ever developed, through reliance entirely on the security of things well known. There must always be a reaching-out to the ephemera of the future in order to pull oneself slowly towards a greater maturity through God-given genius evident in a handful of new works.

As long as composers write from the heart—and not in well-worn idiomatic manner "because this is what the people like"; as long as church musicians select their music with the awesome responsibility of beauty—in music and its performance—in their minds; and as long as the people refuse to accept the intrusion of trivia into the beauty of silence, the future of English church music is assured.

The church can help people to find themselves before they resort to long distance travel, by recognising the effectiveness of silence, by construing beauty, and by eschewing those ineffectual distractions in worship to which all church communities are prone. The language of music should be a form of communication between man and God, provided it is honest and not merely grammatical. Unless it is beauty that breaks silence, it is better to be still in order to know God.

HYMNS—THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE

by Erik Routley

These are strange and exciting days in which to be invited to write about new hymns and hymn books. You might think that this is a time when people are turning away from the Church: but it is quite certainly a time when people are showing a close and critical interest in what the Church sings. During the past few years a quite new spirit has been moving in and around the Church. I think that that is the way to put it, because many of the most creative developments have come from people who are by no means pillars of the establishment.

Recently in a television programme devoted to a rather hasty and entertainment-centred survey of new music in worship, I managed to make the modest contribution contained in the following historical platitude: that any survey of church music conducted in any generation before our own would certainly have been put in the hands of church organists and parsons; whereas this one was in the hands of a team on which I was not only the single parson present, but also the only one who had any connection whatever with "traditional" church music. And that is just about where we stand. There is a great deal of excellent and creative work being done where it always was done—in the context of ecclesiastical life. But there is also a great deal being done by people who are on the fringe of the Church—and this is attracting a good deal more attention.

What I write here then has to be presented in two parts, which might vulgarly be labelled "trad" and "mod". In the first I shall have something to say about some recent hymn books.

I

I think that the two most significant and interesting hymn books produced during the 1960s have been *Hymns for Church and School* (1964) and *The Cambridge Hymnal* (1967); and about these and *The Anglican Hymn Book* (1965) I shall have something to say in a moment. But there have been several others. There was the *Baptist Hymn Book* (1962) for example: this is the most recent of the "denominational" hymn books, and it was a revision, as these usually are, of a book printed thirty years before. It was necessary for its editors to give their constituents a hearty haul out of a cultural and musical slough into which their 1933 editors had landed them. It was hardly difficult to improve on what had gone before; but the new book, having taken a considerable amount of advice from *Congregational Praise* (which had to do the same thing in 1951) produced a massive but very workable hymn book designed to serve a religious group of very wide social and cultural spread. The book managed to get the Baptists soundly up to the present, without having much energy left over for thrusting them towards the future.

Then there was the *English Hymnal Service Book*, also 1962: this was an abridged edition of the *English Hymnal*, with a few musical alterations and with the addition of some extra hymns and carols. It was designed to make the essential *English Hymnal* available for parishes which would find it convenient to have a fairly restricted choice of hymns, together with service material and the psalter, all within the same pair of covers. This, while serving a perfectly justifiable purpose, contributed next to nothing to the advance of hymnody.

Nor, on the whole, did *Hymns of Faith* (1964), which was *Golden Bells* in modern dress. Again, it served a clear and necessary purpose—to make available to the communities that used *Golden Bells* a much better selection from the hymns that such books as the *English Hymnal* had made available to the Church. All these are technically new books, but they are largely concerned with revision and reconstruction rather than with invention.

When we come to *Hymns for Church and School*, we are in somewhat different country. This was designed to do the duty formerly done by three editions of the *Public School Hymn Book*. Wisely, its editors decided against keeping the older title; and also wisely, they carried through a thorough overhaul that was much more than the revisions with which their predecessors had been content.

The first (1903) edition had contained 349 hymns: the second (1919) increased this to 426, and was in fact a very good book indeed for its period. The third (1949), a careless and perfunctory piece of work, expanded to 554: in *HCS* the editors firmly went back to the idea of a short book (346 hymns), and exercised a very fastidious control over what was to be included. They provided an extended introduction (for the boys to read during the sermon?), a restricted but very serviceable choice of hymns, a considerable number of new tunes and a few good new hymns, and sixteen blank pages for any church or school to use for hymns they specially wanted. The real distinctions of the book are in its scrupulous editing—in the true scholarly tradition—and its very good new tunes by leading modern church composers, including John Joubert, John Gardner, Herbert Howells, and Sir John Dykes-Bower. What scholarship can achieve is shown, to take only one example, in their version of Handel's tune to "Rejoice, the Lord is King", with the true accompaniment and Handel's postlude realised very well from the original figured bass.

The *Anglican Hymn Book* (1965) was designed to serve that part of the Church of England which had formerly preferred such curious and antiquated books as *The Church Hymnal for the Christian Year*.

It presupposed in this group a sensitiveness to evangelical values which neither *E.H.* nor *A. & M.* fully served. Whether this was or was not an anachronistic assumption need not be argued here. But the result of this adventure was a book of 663 hymns covering a much wider evangelical spectrum than is usually expected in Anglican circles. There is a great deal of material here from dissenting sources, and a number of hymns well-known to Methodists or Congregationalists are brought to the attention of worshipping Anglicans for the first time. Unfortunately, the effort to be inclusive of so many cultural strains left little room for exploration, and equally unfortunately, when the editors went outside their immediate circle for new words and tunes they were not conspicuously fortunate. Perhaps there are half-a-dozen tunes appearing here for the first time that really catch the eye: one of these is, so far as I know, the only hymn tune by David Willcocks that has found its way into print. The new words are unenterprising for the most part. It is a very good anthology: the most unusual thing about it is the very old style of print that its editors decided on.

In my own judgment, for what it is worth, the hymnals of the sixties have tended to be eminent in caution and defective in colour—*HCS* being the nearest thing to an exception. This is obviously what the editors of the *Cambridge Hymnal* thought. Here, anyhow, is something to make one's eyebrows rise on every other page. The *Cambridge Hymnal*, prepared as a companion for school worship to the agreed syllabus, and to be a hymnal at which neither the music master nor the English master need blush, is the work of a well-known critic, David Holbrook, and an equally well-known musician, Elizabeth Poston. They totally dissent, between them, from all the values expressed in normal conservative hymnals. They managed to find 139 hymns of which they could approve, and many of these are poems, or parts of poems, from English literature of the period before 1700. The editor particularly disliked evangelical imagery, and greatly preferred the penitential strains of the English mystics. The result is a marvellous anthem book, or carol book: a very fine cultural supplement to the standard books. It is far too idiosyncratic (and too casually edited) to serve as a working hymnal; it cares nothing for the ordinary "folk song" of the congregation: but its 139 hymns and 58 carols together are a gesture in favour of high literary and musical standards such as has not been seen here since *Songs of Praise*.

The Methodists and the Proprietors of *Hymns A. &. M.* both have very interesting supplemental hymn books (each of about 100 hymns) in active preparation, on which it would be premature to comment here. But the fact that both these very influential bodies have decided for a supplement rather than a new book indicates the way things have begun to go. There is a kind of uncertainty at present which makes responsible people wonder whether it is wise to bring out a new book that implies that things will be reasonably stable for the thirty years which would be its expected economic life. The only body which defies this lack of assurance sufficiently to be engaged on a complete new book is the Church of Scotland, whose new edition of the *Church Hymnary* is at an advanced stage of compilation. But the English are familiar with the expression on the face of the good Scot as he contemplates our confusions and adventures.

II

Now we must look at the other side of the picture. The slight traces of uncertainty, dissent and general questioning which we have just noticed, and which in a sense brought forth the *Cambridge Hymnal*, the least "churchy" of the hymn books we have mentioned, have appeared much more emphatically in the words and works of people who have said, "But can't we have another kind of music in church?" On the one hand there has been the Twentieth Century Church Light Music Group, which has evolved a style that can be dated fairly accurately from the first broadcast of a Geoffrey Beaumont Hymn on 14th October, 1955. The work of these composers and (to a smaller extent) writers—Beaumont himself, Patrick Appleford, Malcolm Williamson, and their disciples—is very well-known and requires no comment here. It is in the music that the greatest invention has been seen, not in the words: and the music has been a deliberate attempt to revive the techniques of old-style "popular" music for church use, just as Sankey did in his day. Its appeal has been less to the unchurched young (for whom perhaps it was at first designed) than to the self-critical Christian middle-aged.

On the other hand there have been the folk-singers: and it is they who at present are in full cry. These are people who start from the words, and find a tune when they have the words. Sydney Carter is at the head of the line, and I suppose that the seed of this cult was first sown when Donald Swann sang Carter's song "Good Friday", in a broadcast in 1962. After a short time-lag, Carter has become celebrated, and now he has a lengthening line of disciples, among the most promising of whom are Michael Lehr and Malcolm Stewart. Their songs are not congregational pieces but solos, sometimes with choruses, ballads, "Songs of Faith and Doubt" as some call them; they express not the affirmations of the Faith but those subsidiary doubts, criticisms, protests and intimations which traditionally the Church presents in its preaching or in its prayers of confession. This, at least, they do when they are at their best. Personally, I often remind myself when the hectoring note in these songs becomes too strident for my taste (and it often does, though it is nothing to what one gets in secular protest songs), that this must have been very much what the author of the first part of Isaiah 5 did when he adapted the old "vineyard song" for his own prophetic purposes.

You can hardly say that the collections of these songs which are now appearing are hymn books: but they do contain many ballads, carols, spirituals, and "doubt songs" which, properly used, can have a penetrating effect.

The church is slow to make use of them chiefly because if you are to use them you have to ask how on earth they can be fitted into traditional worship. The next stage is either to say that they must be kept for the church hall, or that traditional worship must become flexible enough to accommodate them. This is not a matter to be argued about here—least of all by a writer who is not himself of the Anglican Communion. But another point of resistance against this kind of song is where the Church finds them too firmly wedded to amateurism to be in tune with its ideals. Not only are they usually sung in rather hoarse natural voices (Sydney Carter wouldn't be accepted for King's College choir), but if you try to sing them with a chorister's precision of diction and textual faithfulness they lose all their vitality. They are the kind of songs you can alter as you go along, and when you sing them you have to sound conversational, not professional. Again: this is not the place to try to judge who is right in this controversy: we merely record that this is what is happening.

However, it is now at least possible to get hold of some collections which give a good idea of the content and intention of this kind of music, and I should recommend Sydney Carter's two small books, *9 Ballads or Carols* and *10 New Songs* (Clarion Press, 21 Greek Street, W.1), *Faith, Folk and Clarity* (Galliard) and *Gospel Song Book*, edited by Malcolm Stewart (Geoffrey Chapman), for all those who are interested.

Personally I have no doubt at all that there is a future for both hymn singing and this new kind of church music. There is room for both. There is room also for a hymn book which really does gather up the needs and aspirations of the sixties and (no doubt) the seventies. Such a book would be ecumenical, sensitive to the whole field of religious values including the conservative field, international here and there, ruthlessly critical of what is dreary and tired in hymnody, practical, a genuine aid to contemporary worship, and demanding of the respect of decent musicians and writers. I am not yet at liberty to state the name of this future hymn book: but friendly readers of the foregoing pages may be assured that what I have just ventured to say is not mere exhortation.

RECENT BOOKS

by M. St. John Parker

Dr. William Urry, Canterbury Cathedral and City Archivist, must be well-known to most Friends. Latest, and not least distinguished in a long line of Canterbury antiquarians, he is renowned for his encyclopaedic command of the minutiae of the city's history; his lectures and tours are deservedly famous, and he appears to have an inexhaustible fund of recondite information from which he is always ready to answer inquiries.

Some part at least of this great wealth of knowledge has now been embodied in a major publication, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (Athlone Press, 5 gns.). This long-awaited volume is undoubtedly a major achievement of scholarship, and will at the very least finally establish Dr. Urry as one of the classic authorities on Canterbury.

It is only fair to make clear straightaway, however, that some of the author's many admirers are likely to be disappointed in the work; this is *not* a general history of Canterbury in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (as the title might perhaps seem to imply); nor yet is it the intimate, human account which Dr. Urry's acquaintance with medieval gossip, illuminated by his own sardonic humour, undoubtedly qualifies him to write. There is admittedly a section on "The Inhabitants of Canterbury", but it is very sober, and those who know the author may well regret his studious restraint in this respect—it is not like Dr. Urry to pass over a name such as Winedei Butercluncc without so much as a qualifying adjective, and we must all be the poorer for his abstention!

The object of the book is made quite clear in the Preface: it is intended as "a contribution towards a future history of Canterbury", and should be regarded primarily as a collection of materials, transcribed, collated and summarised. Where the facts do not speak for themselves, moreover, Dr. Urry is chary of drawing his own conclusions. Over half the text (pp. 220-445) is devoted to a transcription of seven major rentals from the cathedral archives, and 70 charters mostly from the same source, together with three other relevant documents. On these solid foundations, supplemented by wide research, Dr. Urry bases a description of the layout of property in Canterbury during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

A document of primary importance to his analysis, though not reproduced in the book, is the famous twelfth century plan of Prior Wibert's waterworks which is bound into the Psalter of Eadwine; it is fitting that Dr. Urry's labours should issue in part in a similar cartographic achievement—a folder containing 23 map-sheets, printed from his own meticulous originals. The maps depict the city in c. 1166 and again in c. 1200, and represent on their own a tremendous achievement of deductive scholarship, of first-rate importance to an understanding of the development of medieval and indeed modern Canterbury.

The remainder of Dr. Urry's text is essentially a commentary on the documents, and as such it is a model of discreet and scholarly erudition. To the general reader, who is likely to interest himself mostly in the commentary-plus-maps, it will probably appear unduly dry, detailed, and disjointed; future historians, on the other hand, going first to the documents-plus-maps and then turning to the commentary, are more likely to find it shrewd and provocative. Even so, it may be offered as a criticism that the chapters are excessively self-contained, and thus tend to repeat themselves rather noticeably at times—Lambin Frese removes his workshop with bewildering frequency from the monastery gate to Stour Street, and Terric the goldsmith is even more ubiquitous.

Dr. Urry is concerned chiefly with the significance of the property arrangements revealed by his researches. Christ Church of course stands out as the city's greatest holder of land, and indeed a major influence in the developing economy of the locality. Dr. Urry begins by pointing out that "By the end of the twelfth century the monks of Canterbury Cathedral were lords of between one-third and one-half of the domestic property of the city", and goes on to calculate that "If the population of Canterbury in the twelfth century amounted to four or five thousand, Mother Church must have nourished well over ten per cent of them."

This latter figure takes no account of those who depended on trade for their livelihood. Dr. Urry stresses that "Canterbury has been a place of trade from a remote date", and adds his voice to the chorus of those who would antedate the appearance of the trade-dependent town before the time of the Norman Conquest. He is unable to trace any regular system of common fields belonging to the borough, though there was, of course, private agricultural activity both within and without the walls. One of the few pointers to an agricultural style of life is a rent-service owed on certain Canterbury holdings in the late twelfth century and known as "evework"—a term apparently peculiar to the city; this little-known institution may in Dr. Urry's view be the survival of a commuted labour-service. If this is the case, the fact that its origins had been forgotten by the mid-thirteenth century clearly reinforces his view that by the Angevin period at any rate the city was flourishing as a regional centre for trade and craft activities. As always, Dr. Urry is cautious of interpreting his evidence; but it would also seem reasonably certain that the trading prosperity of the city supported one of the earliest English examples of a merchant guild.

Thus, from an early date, the twin pillars of Canterbury's historic economy—trade and the Church—are readily discernible; furthermore it was during the period covered by this book that the central event of the city's history—the martyrdom of Becket, treated here only in parenthesis—took place, giving rise to the fusion of trading and ecclesiastical elements into an interdependence which in reality lasts to the present day, though it is currently fashionable in the city to deny it.

The transition from such topics as these to local government will obviously be an easy one, and Dr. Urry covers the evolution of the city's governing body in a particularly interesting chapter. Here again, his caution is extreme, but in contradiction to the usual view he commits himself to the proposition that a certain James, gatekeeper of the monastery, served as mayor of Canterbury in the early thirteenth century—230 years before the office emerges clearly from the shadows.

The monastic servants, of whom James was an outstanding example, were a clearly defined and important group in the city at this time, and are treated at some length. They are revealed as exceedingly independent of their masters, capable of playing off monks against archbishop, and even of downright rebellion. In a sense they represent the stake of the citizens in the monastery—a stake as important to the former as the town property-rents were to the latter. It is difficult to find a precise modern equivalent to this essentially reciprocal, economic-spiritual-social relationship, despite Dr. Urry's thought-provoking obiter dictum on the corrody system that "The monastery is in fact performing the function of a modern insurance organisation."

Underlying social relationships may have changed more or less; something that has changed amazingly little over 750 years is the topography of Canterbury. Here the maps already mentioned are of paramount interest, but there is also a valuable chapter of comment. The continuity of the street-plan, principally of medieval origin, is most striking, and is a tribute alike to its logical convenience and its satisfying amenity—characteristics which uninformed opinion is reluctant to allow to medieval town-planning. The distribution of population and activity, likewise, has altered only marginally; the three main areas of change can be mostly accounted for by the late intrusion of ecclesiastical precincts—St. Gregory's, Blackfriars, and Greyfriars. Canterbury's post-Reformation stagnation contributed to the perpetuation of the status quo, and only recently have German bombs and hardly less destructive cars contrived to disrupt the eminently workable pattern left to us by our ancestors.

The essential continuity of the city's history makes one the more eager to see Dr. Urry take the story further—or, if he prefers it, provide us with more in the way of materials!

In the meantime, we can hardly complain of a lack of scholarly interest in our history's most important episode. The latest contribution on this subject comes from Richard Winston, whose biography, *Becket* (Constable, 50/-), was published last autumn. This is a volume of a very different sort from Dr. Urry's. It would probably be misleading to call it "popular history", since that might be taken to mean "shallow", perhaps even "distorted" or "propagandist", and these things it certainly is not. On the other hand it certainly makes no claim to present new original material on any aspect of Becket's life, and in approach, layout, and style is clearly aimed at the general rather than the technical reader.

This is no fault in itself; but some of the consequences are unfortunate. To take one fairly unimportant example: it would surely have done no harm to have given at any rate some indication in the text where source-material, either primary or secondary, is being directly used. As it is, all references are grouped in an appendix, and identified by a system of key-words which are not, however, distinguished in the text itself. This excessive care in avoiding the appearance of erudition is the more to be regretted in that it might give rise to the suspicion that Mr. Winston's knowledge of his sources is not as complete as might be wished—an unjustified thought, since he has clearly worked through, and uses freely, a mass of material of all sorts.

In fact a biography such as this, general in approach yet soundly based on a solid knowledge of the subject, is particularly opportune at this moment—not only to Canterbury folk concerned with their looming Becket Festival, but to all those interested in the Becket controversy. Monographs and similar materials on this subject have been accumulating rapidly of late, and it is possible that something of a historiographical log-jam has built up, which the professionals hesitate to break for fear of getting hurt. Perhaps Mr. Winston's book will end the deadlock.

In these circumstances it might seem unreasonable to cavil over details; but it must be fair to ask at least whether the composition is balanced and internally coherent: and here Mr. Winston's work leaves a doubtful impression.

The contradictions of Becket's character and career are notorious; but the problem in its basic form is not peculiar to Becket—it is characteristic of the whole period, and applies equally to all the major figures of the time (including Henry II). How could these people confuse and intermingle apparently sacred and apparently secular objectives and motives with such a complete lack of discrimination? No doubt men always identify their own temporal causes with eternal values; but the twelfth century outlook is incredible to our compartmented twentieth century minds. A great effort is needed to understand this (to us) alien way of thought; and it takes a still greater effort to realise that it is not necessarily more primitive.

Becket, indeed, was a very sophisticated individual—all too much so, at first glance. Though a good many of his contemporaries were given to apparently incompatible extremes of behaviour, Becket positively excels in inconsistency. What are we to call a man who could move with seemingly effortless facility from the character of a smooth clerical diplomatist and administrator to that of a brutally efficient soldier and from that again to the secret hair shirt of a private ascetic who is at the same time a prelate apparently obsessed by his privileges and driven by a compulsive, exhibitionist wish for martyrdom? Above all, what do we make of his sudden change from king's man to pope's man? One school of thought would see him as a pathologically insecure personality who was obliged to act out, to excess, whatever rôle he found himself playing, and who was eventually destroyed by the contradictions forced upon him by the multiplication of dramatic parts. But this would impute to Becket a fundamental weakness which his contemporaries certainly did not notice, and which is nowhere evident in his acts; furthermore, it ignores the fact, already pointed out, that the same problem occurs, *mutatis mutandis*, in many other personalities of the time—not all of whom are likely to have been suffering from pathological insecurity. Mr. Winston, on the other hand, asserts that there *is* an underlying unity in Becket's character and career; but he finds this unity simply by asserting boldly that "Thomas was what he professed to be; a religious man", and then ignoring or underplaying the inconvenient parts of his life to make the picture consistent. Thus Becket's period as Chancellor is drastically compressed and the famous *volte face* of 1163 is dealt with briefly and in a way that carries little conviction.

In this essential respect, then, the book must be deemed a failure; but this does not deprive it of all value—far from it. Many parts are wholly admirable, especially the sensitive and sympathetic treatment of Becket's exile, and the way in which his career is set against the background of European politics. It stands in general as a worthwhile and readable recension of much of the available material, and will undoubtedly perform a useful function.

With Prof. E. F. Jacob's study, *Henry Chichele* (Nelson, 42/-), we move on to a period that is closer to our own not only in time. Chichele's long archiepiscopate (1414-1443) was a testing time for the Church in England, and for the hierarchy in particular. Some of the troubles of the period were related to those which had brought Becket to his death; but others were new, and in any case the pattern of affairs was by now very different—problems arising from the French wars: Wyclif and the Lollards: above all, the agonising dilemma created by divisions within the papacy. Melodramatic martyrdom would not be likely to help very much in the solution of issues such as these, and Archbishop Chichele was not a likely candidate for such an end.

Indeed, as Prof. Jacob says in his Preface, he was one of "those who are content to work by persuasion and conciliation in constant communication with their associates, always ready to co-ordinate the interests of the Church with the interests of the community about them." He emerges from this book as a moderate and self-effacing but able and vigorous administrator and shaper of institutions, who played an invaluable rôle at a time when the Church's identification with medieval secular society was becoming increasingly insecure.

Men such as Chichele, "the realists and the improvers", as Prof. Jacob calls them, go about their work in their own way; Becket could never have fitted into his successor's committee-man mould. And yet they were not dissimilar in certain respects; neither came from the nobility, but rather from modest urban backgrounds; both distinguished themselves as lawyers, and diplomatists in royal employ; both rendered large services as administrators to their respective kings. Perhaps, however, this is to say no more than that both were successful medieval churchmen.

Chichele, certainly, was in many ways very typical of his profession—he was, for example, a notable pluralist. On the other hand, while himself freely participating in this particular form of abuse, he also worked conscientiously to render it a little less inevitable by founding All Souls' College, Oxford, to help provide something like a practical career structure for ambitious clerical academics. Seen on a wider scale, this foundation may be regarded as part of an enlightened attempt to harness the energies and secure the loyalties of an emergent intelligentsia in danger of becoming alienated from contemporary society. In this, as in other respects, Chichele's problems may seem not unfamiliar to us.

Unfortunately, it remains hard to get a clear idea of Chichele as a personality. This colourless elusiveness, as Prof. Jacob points out, is in fact one of the man's most pronounced characteristics—"one would not have stopped in the road to see who it was." But the difficulty is to some extent compounded by the author's method in approaching his subject. Having published a chronological account of Chichele's life on an earlier occasion, he chooses this

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CORRIGENDUM

Page 25; line 38:—

For "Sens" read "Siena"

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EDITORIAL

This issue of the *Chronicle* follows the same principle as the last issue, presenting a collection of articles about aspects of the visual arts in connection with the Church. Two of the most important ways in which colour comes into our church buildings, stained glass and embroidery, are considered by authors engaged in the day to day problems of finding the best means for expression of their art through these media. The article about the Florentine casket brings to the attention of our readers a little known artistic treasure which probably originated in Canterbury, and the connection of sacred geometry with the construction of the Cathedral forms the subject of another study. Yet another probes the problems presented in the restoration of a wall painting. The text of Mrs. Stephens' delightful talk at the annual meeting of the Friends in the Chapter House is also included.

We are most grateful to our contributors for their articles, and hope that the readers of the *Chronicle* will find them both instructive and fascinating.

Mr. Gerald Peacocke, who is the Manager for the Dean and Chapter for the 1970 Becket commemoration as well as Acting Steward of the Friends, describes the plans for next year, in which we hope that many Friends will be able to participate.

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the Marc Fitch Fund towards the publication of this year's *Chronicle*.

HERBERT WADDAMS.

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ST. GABRIEL'S CHAPEL, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

by Eve Baker

Among the saddest losses to English mediaeval art must surely be the disappearance of a magnificent head of Christ—highlighting until recently the original decoration of this early 12th century chapel.

This beautiful head, complete with jewelled halo, has now completely mouldered away, leaving only a pale drawing outlined by the artist on the wet plaster before he began his final work (Plate 1).

It is impossible to say precisely when the head started to deteriorate. By 1964 it had completely vanished, while good photographs taken little over a decade earlier (Plate 2) testify to its existence at that time and serve as a sad reminder of Canterbury's tragic loss.

In 1934 Professor E. W. Tristram remarked that the painting in the apse was in almost perfect condition for such an early work, ranking with the finest examples of the period in Western Europe. Meanwhile other authorities agreed that the scheme was a rare and precious relic of so much that is lost to us.

It should be pointed out, however, that a great deal of 12th century and earlier painting of superlative quality, such as the great Doom painting at Clayton, Sussex, and Winchester Cathedral's newly discovered Entombment, remain intact.

Other examples must include the St. Cuthbert and St. Oswald in Durham, the chancel scheme at Kempley, the paintings at Coombes and Hardham and the Saxon window splay at Pittington. There should, of course, be even more under limewash and plaster, if only it can escape the wire brushes used to remove loose plaster before redecorating.

The paintings decorating the apse of St. Gabriel's chapel consist of a large figure of Christ seated on a rainbow within an aureole, supported by four flying angels. On the west side are the towers of the Heavenly Jerusalem, Seraphs, the Sea of Glass and the Tree of Knowledge. The tiers below depict the Angel Gabriel's visit to the Virgin and Zacharias, the Annunciation, the Visitation and the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi. Here also are the Annunciation to Zacharias, Zacharias struck dumb and the Naming of the Child John.

Under the soffit of the eastern arch are the Seven Stars of the churches of Asia, the Seven Angels with the Seven Golden Candlesticks and St. John writing the Apocalypse. The bands separating the tiers bear inscriptions in white versal letters and an inscription on the string-course states that the altar was dedicated to St. Gabriel. There is a similar painted inscription above an altar at St. Chef in Isère, France.

The painter would undoubtedly come from the monastic school of craftsmen—a great monastery like Canterbury certainly numbering painters among an ample complement of decorative skills.

The paintings in the apse are confined to the wall of the chapel, although there has been a scheme of curtain-like drapery painted below the rather high dado. The first scheme was painted in fresco on the newly laid plaster covering the vault and walls, with the major part being finished in secco and occasional white pearling. Among areas of fresco left uncovered are the freely flowing drapery of the angels' dresses and the underdress of the Christ figure.

There is a very wide colour range and Professor Tristram regarded St. Gabriel's chapel as a microcosm of what once decorated the whole cathedral, a point echoed in William of Malmesbury's description of Conrad's chapel which was dedicated in 1130.

We have been fortunate in being able to see the paintings in more or less their original state, as the apse was blocked up before the great fire of 1174, thus escaping the mutilation and limewashing which befell so many of our paintings during the Reformation, not to mention overpainting and re-touching to which they would have been subjected in a Continental context.

Our first description of the paintings was by Dart in 1726, in *History and Antiquities of Canterbury*. Drawings published of what he saw had little in common with what was really there, however. They were classical in style, the figures of Seraphim mistaken for St. Catherine, although it should be added that his only access to the paintings was a two foot square hole and he had to examine them by candlelight!

In 1879 part of the blocking wall was removed and James Neale, F.S.A., was asked to repair the paintings and do full-scale drawings of them. These, some unfinished, were afterwards hung in the Cathedral library and Neale was paid 200 guineas for his work—considered to be a low price at the time, but a fairly considerable fee by comparable present day standards.

In 1878 Keyser, writing in the *Archaeological Journal*, says the paintings were very indistinct, heavily whitewashed and the plaster falling. This makes little sense, however, as heavy limewashing would have precluded any visual observation of the subject matter. It would also have been unlikely as most limewashing was done at the time of the Reformation—a period from which the apse was demonstrably isolated.

Keyser's description loses further credence in the light of our knowledge today that limewashing would have damaged the secco painting and pearling to a far greater extent than is apparent.

It is probable, therefore, that what he took for whitewash was in fact efflorescent saline deposits due to the damp conditions certainly prevailing in the apse at the time.

Just two years later, Canon Scott Robertson gave a full description and interpretation of the paintings in *The Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral*, Archaeologia Cantiana (Vol. XIII, 1880), constituting the best available source of contemporary information on the subject and contradicting, by its existence, much of Keyser's comment.

In 1924 the paintings were first waxed and by 1952 their condition was giving cause for concern. Various suggestions were made, but fortunately not carried out! Laboratory tests established that wax was concentrated on the surface to a depth of about one sixty-fourth of an inch, but that its waterproofing effect went deeper. Among the treatments suggested were covering with acrylic resin, with very fine terylene net, and waxing them again using heat to drive the wax into the surface—a repetition of the 1924 treatment which had had such disastrous results.

When we first examined the paintings in 1964, we found them to be in very bad condition, with large areas having fallen or about to fall. There was no part of the painted surface firmly adhering to the plaster behind, the previous preservative treatment having perished, bringing the pigment away with it. There was evidence that varnish had been applied before the wax, possibly by Neale, and in recent years the wax had prevented the complete disintegration of this varnish.

It could well be that the higher parts of the apse had not been so heavily waxed, but the contraction of both preservatives had, with the assistance of accumulated sub-surface salts, parted the paint layer from the plaster. It is also possible that the wax had perished from this part some time ago, leaving a disintegrating varnish coating.

The lower part of the apse on the north side was more complete than its southern counterpart because it had not suffered from the inroads of moisture from the outside wall as well as the floor. The sealing of the surface with varnish in the first instance and with wax later was, however, a disastrous treatment for such generally damp conditions. Had the two sealers remained in good condition, salts would have here again eased away both agents together with the paint layer to which they were applied.

Work was begun on the paintings under the eastern arch. The plaster was so loose that the paintings had to be removed from the upper half and replaced on a good lime mortar, taking out all the cement fillings and desalting the area as much as possible. This required the greatest care as the painted plaster was extremely friable and the cement holding it quite rocklike.

Next the two angels on the north side were cleared. Here again the paint was very friable, but after a great deal of careful work it was possible to consolidate the colour by limewater saturation, thereby replacing the lime crystals which had originally bound the pigment. These paintings are now absolutely firm and the colour fresher, the wax and cement having been removed.

The wall itself is now free to "breathe" again, or in other words, the surface is now open to the natural and necessary transmigration of moisture, which when impeded results in a sadly familiar blistering of the painted surface due to a build-up of saline deposits at the point of resistance.

Canterbury Cathedral's remaining 12th century painting is all contained in St. Anselm's Tower, built by Conrad between 1093 and 1107 when Ernulf was Prior. The upper chapel, St. Anselm's, still retains part of its decorative scheme including the fine painting of St. Paul and the viper. These, however, are of later date than the paintings in the crypt of this chapel, dedicated to St. Gabriel, where both apse and nave still bear early 12th century painting.

St. Anselm, formerly Abbot of Bec, died in 1109 and is understood to be buried behind the altar in the chapel bearing his name. His burial place would be in the space between the floor of St. Anselm's and the eastern vault of St. Gabriel's—immediately behind the painted Christ figure.

EMBROIDERY—A VISUAL ART, IN THE CHURCH OF TO-DAY

by Beryl Dean, A.R.C.A.

The need for a fresh apprizal of each aspect of the church arts is by now established, and there is a very real movement, active and searching amongst artists and craftsmen, supported by forward-looking churchmen; though towards the perimeter it is scarcely felt. That there is opposition all the way is healthy, for really new ideas lead to argument and this in turn makes people think instead of tamely accept. And so a tension is created, resulting in the lively renaissance of the present era.

From prehistoric times man has felt the urge to express his faith in visual terms. Through his own creative instincts he has sought to produce the very best in the service of his belief, and this has not only formed the stimulus behind many of the world's masterpieces, but, just as importantly, has given the urge and the power to the humblest individual to want to create something for his god.

It is within this context that we shall consider embroidery, both as minor church art and as the amateur craftswoman's offering to her church. That the standard of design and execution shall be of the highest is essential, its importance cannot be overstressed. Yet it does seem that the church itself often fails to recognise the importance of the visual impact as a means of communication. Opinion and critical standards can become conversant with the best examples of sculpture, murals, mosaics, stained glass, silversmithing, textiles, embroidered vestments and soft furnishings. Yet the artist, looking to the church for a lead and a briefing, too often finds that those in a position to influence, choose or make decisions have no specialised training or knowledge and rely upon "knowing what they like", which generally turns out to be liking what they know or what is familiar to them. Therefore in these matters an up-to-date professional artist should be consulted in the same way as would a lawyer, surveyor, accountant or builder.

However, there are splendid exceptions where individual churchmen, in collaboration with architects recognising the importance of a forward-looking approach to the church arts, have had support in commissioning the best of today and thereby exerted an enormous influence. This strength of purpose has resulted in a closer and more lively contact with the younger generation.

There is much built-in prejudice to overcome: it is a strange phenomenon that people who would visit the Motor Show and take pride in possessing the newest model, hanker after pseudo-gothic churches, complete with furnishings and vestments characteristic of the end of the last century, with embroidered decoration still in the idiom of outworn representation symbolism worked in silks and quite unrelated to the exciting experimental embroidery being taught in schools today. That which is conventional and traditional is considered safe, change is generally resisted: new ideas are slow to be established, but with life moving ever faster our acceptance of change must be adapted to keep pace. For example, might not some furnishings be considered expendable by having something rather less expensive, which is bright and cheerful? We are concentrating upon embroidery and it is a simple matter to renew vestments and furnishings which need not cost a great deal.

In its time each style of decoration has been contemporary with the current way of life and each change resisted. This can be seen on the well-known blue chasuble of the thirteenth century, where typically Romanesque beasts persisted and were included in the design.

Perhaps a very brief outline of the historical development will show embroidery in its context and make the subject more interesting. Its importance in the past may be difficult to appreciate now.

That the origins of embroidery were established long before the finest extant examples can be supported by the quotation from Exodus 35, verse 35: "Them hath he filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of work, of the engraver and of the cunning workman and of the embroiderer in blue and in purple, in scarlet and in fine linen, and of the weaver, even of them that do any work".

The decorative style characteristic of each age has generally been reflected in embroidered decoration upon vestments and furnishings, but the basic shape of vestments has changed little. The Coptic linen tunic with its vertical clavi persists as the dalmatic and tunicle of today. From A.D. 330, when secrecy was no longer necessary, the best and richest garments were set aside for the Eucharist and so the dress of the Roman citizen became the liturgical costume of today.

The Byzantine Empire, where Church and State were but two aspects of one concept, exerted an enormous influence, continuing even beyond 1453, with returning Crusaders bringing back silks to the West. The embroidery had its own characteristics: there is a late example in the Lady Chapel of Canterbury Cathedral.

In Britain the stole and maniple buried with St. Cuthbert and now in the Library of Durham Cathedral are proof of the existence of a well-established tradition of embroidery in the early tenth century.

Between 1250 and 1350 ecclesiastical embroidery reached a peak of perfection. Known as *Opus Anglicanum*, it was renowned throughout Europe and examples can be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in several museums in Europe and in New York.

It is recognised by certain characteristics. Basic designs were derived from the vine, quatrefoils, circles or arcading, in which were placed figures of saints. These were worked in fine split stitch in spirals on the cheeks and following the drapery on the robes. The eyes were large and the foreheads high. The gold work was carried out in underside couching, a method now obsolete. Preserved in Canterbury Cathedral is the jupion (and its copy) of the Black Prince; it shows the embroidery of the time and gives an indication of the type to which Chaucer makes reference.

Due mainly to the Black Death, standards of design and workmanship declined. A new style emerged, due in part to poverty caused by wars and restrictions on the use of gold, and also because of the increasing availability of velvets and brocades from Italy, which diverted interest from the embroidery. Single units were worked separately and applied, with the addition of rays worked in gold to soften the effect. The palls of some of the City Companies are typical of this period. At this time the old full chasubles were cut down to the new, decadent fiddle-back shape.

With the Reformation came the destruction or conversion to secular use of vast quantities of church embroidery, and further destruction followed under Cromwell. The excesses of the Renaissance and Baroque came at a time when little church embroidery was done in this country, but on the Continent elaborate compositions in *or nué* with three-dimensional effects, and floral subjects with little or no spiritual significance were carried out.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England a restrained but typical design consisted of the sacred monogram surrounded by a golden glory of rays, embroidered in a variety of wire purls, plate and small sequins upon velvet or satin for Laudian frontals and falls.

The Pre-Raphaelite influence in the nineteenth century, though restricted, brought an entirely new outlook and fresh approach to design and embroidery for the church. At the end of the century Dr. Percy Dearmer did much to revive the older, fuller shapes of vestments.

Out of all this has sprung church embroidery of the twentieth century with its clearly recognisable characteristics.

Whatever the degree of our involvement in embroidery for the Church, the impact is primarily through the design, and our immediate concern is the contemporary approach. The resurgence of interest started before the Second World War in France, then with the rebuilding and equipping of churches in Europe the movement gained impetus, although it took time for the influence to be felt in Britain. It is encouraging to realise that much of the most significant embroidery is coming directly and indirectly from Colleges and Schools of Art, or is by designer craftswomen working free-lance.

If this exciting art is to be extended, its viability will depend upon the training of more designers who will take the trouble to become conversant with the limitations of the idiom, so that the process of re-thinking is free of gimmickry and absolutely sincere. Whether we express an idea in terms of embroidery or judge the financial result, certain tenets can be applied. The first is that the character and scale of the decoration shall be related to and in accord with the architectural setting against which it will be seen. An abstract interpretation carried out in brilliant colours can look wonderful with the mellowed stone of a really old cathedral or church; whereas the most difficult problem is the integrating of a really contemporary embroidery into a Gothic revival interior, especially one constructed in certain types of brick and so cluttered that anything more only adds to the restlessness.

Most designers have experienced the problems presented by the overwhelming carved Victorian reredos, an unsuitable carpet, too strident stained glass or a painted altarpiece which makes the introduction of yet more decoration a decision for the specialist.

Generally speaking it is only the trained designer who is capable of taking all the complex elements into account when envisaging the type of decoration required, or one who has the authority and sensitivity born of knowledge and experience to judge what is needed. An example may illustrate the type of mistake which can happen. A huge, valuable, early 17th century painted altarpiece dominated a recently rebuilt chapel. A new altar frontal of acid yellow with a central emblem, heraldic in character and embroidered in bright jade greens and blues had been introduced. This co-ordinated well with everything except the painting with its subtle dull browns, greys, deep crimson and faded olive greens.

Embroidered hangings, banners and vestments, especially copes, become important focal points of colour: together with the stained glass mosaics, they are not trivialities to be lightly dismissed or patronisingly considered as of little consequence. Each is a statement in terms of fabric and embroidery and planned to be a part of its ecclesiastical setting.

Creating in the medium of stitchery for different types of churches develops all the many facets of the subject. When contemplating a project for a new church the architect should first be consulted about his general scheme for the interior. For instance, disappointment could have been avoided had an enthusiastic group enquired about the colour of the wood to be used and of the stained glass, before starting on the kneelers, as these, when everything was complete, could not have been more discordant.

Scale is tremendously important: again this calls for the power to envisage an idea when set within an existing scene. The decoration must be large enough to "tell-up", from a distance, for small detail will not show. It takes time and experience to realise how large the shapes have to be in order to make an impact within a cathedral or large church. Sometimes fine stitchery is thought to possess virtue, but the effect of this, together with finely couched gold, is lost, as vestments with the exception of the stole will not be seen closely.

This question of aesthetic judgement is something in which we are all involved: with informed opinion there will be strong support and demand for the introduction of better and more interesting works, so that good, first-rate artists will be chosen and imaginative schemes receive backing, instead of the merely popular and often sentimental, traditional, commercial products familiar to all. The impact made by a really good piece of modern church embroidery creates lively discussion and interest, and usually costs little more than the too familiar, hackneyed example. Young people in particular feel that there is something which they understand and which communicates with them—surely this is something which the Church can use.

Ecclesiastical embroidery has to be thought of in terms of the liturgy, if it is to be functional. Thus, with the westward-facing celebrant, the emphasis is now upon the decoration on the front of the chasuble and a different approach to the design is called for. The longer, fuller chasuble, dalmatic and tunicle are fairly generally accepted, as is a less rigid arrangement of clavi and apparels. And the maniple need not be worn.

The fundamental change affecting the embroidery is the free-standing or nave altar and this means re-thinking. Have you ever really considered altar frontals enough even to realise the importance of their position as the covering of the focal point of the whole church? All too often they are characterless, automatically composed of a number of pieces of damask or brocade woven in imitation of fifteenth or sixteenth century Florentine silks, joined together with quite unrelated so-called "ecclesiastical" braids. The whole is surmounted by a super-frontal, and both are edged with fringe which for some reason is parti-coloured. To Protestants there is no special significance in this arrangement. Is it not true that this convention should be replaced by a form of embroidered decoration designed in the idiom of the twentieth century? Something which will make contact with people who are up-to-date in the clothes they wear and the form of transport they use? The church was the mainspring of all art, the art form of the day; and though there is renewed interest there is also much apathy. The designer as well as the Church should be asking the basic question of the liturgy, why do we worship? What is the altar for? Where should it stand and why? It is only in answer to questions such as these that the Church is able to give a brief to the architect and designer, and likewise the designer understand and answer it.

Changes in liturgical requirements also lead towards serious reconsideration of the approach to designing altar frontals. Where the high altar is retained at the east end, it is only seen from a distance, and if it is treated as an unbroken horizontal panel the design can be one of real power. The advantage of omitting the super-frontal is surprising, although the elements of the design can be smaller to scale for the frontal in a chapel or smaller church.

Often, in addition to the high altar or instead of it there is a slightly raised free-standing nave altar. For this a Laudian or throw-over frontal may be preferred, even if the folds at the corners do present problems. There are technical limitations which have to be anticipated, but the resulting splash of colour compensates for much.

With the westward-facing celebration, a square or nearly square centrally placed altar calls for re-thinking, because there have to be either four frontals or a pair, back and front with the ends of the wide fair linen cloth hanging over the other two sides. This presents an interesting challenge.

Many aspects of the church arts have lacked sparkle, and having become static are taken for granted. This has happened to embroidered altar linen. From Germany in particular comes an exciting type of large-scale decoration, worked in neutral colours on coarser linen. Other experimental white-work is being done, bearing in mind the material of which the new altars are constructed.

Always the functional purpose of vestments, also the comfort and preference of the wearer, impose limitations which have to be respected when designing. It is unfortunate that designers sometimes fail to find out enough about the requirements of the liturgy or the practical application before starting work. This leads to justified criticism as faults are revealed in use. One such instance may not become apparent for some time and is the result of omitting a strong but invisible locking stitching, attaching the front of the embroidery to the heavy interlining. If this is not done the embroidery will in time hang away from the foundation.

The use of colour is vital, for a mood can be visually heightened and stimulated or conversely destroyed by the final choice. When some of the Coventry Cathedral windows were shown at the Victoria and Albert Museum it was interesting to observe the power which their colour exerted upon those who saw them in this setting, out of their intended surroundings.

As an integral part of stitchery colour can add immeasurably to any scheme, particularly for a new and perhaps somewhat bleak church. Inexpensive fabrics can be used for appliqué, and some form of embroidery is possible with most types of domestic sewing machine, which makes the odd curtain or hanging not too big an undertaking, and thereby brings a touch of brightness to some dark dusty corner, provided it is always remembered that the choice of colour must form a part of the whole scheme.

There is more latitude in adherence to the sequence of liturgical colours and greater scope in the choice of variants of actual tone; for example, so long as a green is recognisably green it can usually be bluish or yellowish. And the idea that one particular green is more "holy" than the other only goes back to the last century. Before planning any vestment or soft furnishing, it is advisable to ascertain the position relating to the liturgical colours, because there are exceedingly strong feelings on the subject. Some churchmen now prefer more neutral colours, especially for ferial use.

Peculiar to churches is the unpredictability of light upon colours, probably caused by the stained glass, reflection, and the positioning and type of artificial light. Large samples of a selection of fabrics have to be judged *in situ* before a decision is made.

It is also useful to realise the importance of tone values: that is, whether a colour is dark, medium or light. To obtain the maximum effect the greatest contrasts are used together, *i.e.*, dark and light, black and white, dark purple and pale yellow, and never in exactly equal proportions. A light colour will show well against a medium one, but a medium-toned blue put with a medium-toned red in equal quantities will hardly tell from a distance.

People unused to planning projects such as kneelers are apt to introduce small areas of too many colours; by restricting the number of bright colours and realising the value of neutrals to off-set the jewel-like quality of the brilliant ones the total effect is enhanced. Colours, all of high intensity, are used in juxtaposition for many schemes at present and this calls for skill and experience.

Christian designers have always used the symbol and the mystery, but the way in which they are now employed is different, so too is the purpose. In the early days the existing pagan symbols were adapted. Later, advantage was taken of every opportunity to reach the unlettered laity by depicting scenes from the Bible, illustrating them in terms of whatever medium was being used, including embroidery. The saints were identified by their respective symbols, and the decorative symbolism was understood and recognised. So embroidered vestments have been a way of teaching and conveying a meaning through design.

The need to teach pictorially is now obsolete, yet vestments and furnishings continue to be decorated with symbols based upon myths, which cannot be justified on the grounds of visual inspiration or even of theological or religious truth. Thus the trend today is away from the purely pictorial representation, and towards applying the same rules as for any other project to design for ecclesiastical purposes. The stimulus may or may not derive from symbolism, or it may be abstract or geometric. When symbolism is incorporated the more hackneyed forms are avoided and the interpretation is decorative, depending upon the arrangement of shapes and form together with line. Neither reproductions of past styles of design nor most heraldry excite the creative, instinctive designer; whereas calligraphy is still the basis for much inventive decoration.

All embroidery depends upon the background fabric, and for this there is more choice than ever before, for man-made and synthetic fibres are being woven in new and exciting ways. A characteristic of contemporary embroidery is the use made of materials and threads. The exploitation of texture has enriched church work immeasurably, together with the widened scope of the uses of stitchery methods and metal threads. To within a decade or so ago almost all ecclesiastical embroidery consisted of Japanese gold threads couched down with mechanical regularity. Long and short stitch worked in silks, dreary greens predominating on a damask background continued; whilst in the secular field all sorts of exciting experimentation widened the whole outlook of those who stitched.

The textiles chosen must be suitable for their purpose: if used for vestments or hangings they should drape well, and for a chasuble the fabric may not be too stiff or too heavy and thick. Collaboration between the hand weaver, textile printer and embroiderer can lead to originality of concept.

Technical perfection used to be an end in itself. To appreciate and understand the present-day approach one has to realise that the aims have changed. The embroiderer strives to create an imaginative, dynamic composition in whichever methods will best convey the original intention, provided that the result is practical. To preserve the freedom and movement of the line, the mass and rhythm of a particular design idiom often calls for a deliberate irregularity of spacing in the execution of the stitchery. This the traditional minded find almost impossible to appreciate.

All this adds up to the fact that, ideally, the designer and craftswoman should be one and the same, and all training is towards this end. Rare and valuable is the technical executant who is sufficiently sensitive to be able and willing to interpret another's design with imagination. It is here that we come in contact with the architects, painters and designers for other media, who prepare designs for embroidery. The success depends so much upon the perception and invention of the one carrying out the project. Naturally, the influence of the head of a workroom, be she in charge of nuns or lay-workers, can affect every piece of work produced.

Much of the most significant embroidery for the church is being produced by the designers and craftswomen working free-lance, with or without assistance. This more forward-looking and imaginative work is made possible by the wonderful private patrons of the arts and the more courageous P.C.C.s and others who commission works of art. When this is possible, it generally means that there is a concerted high standard in all the arts instead of their being represented in one or two isolated pieces of special merit.

Some bishops and clergy have been quick to see a wider application of the present interest and a closer relationship between embroidery for religious and secular purposes, and are forming groups of workers to carry out projects under expert direction (even more important for design than technical execution). This brings together younger people and gives the older, perhaps lonely, woman a real interest and a sense of purpose. There is so much real pleasure in doing embroidery, whatever the degree of experience, that participation in a co-operative effort not only brings enjoyment and an awareness of taking part but can enrich the church, always provided that individual pieces and schemes for projects like hassocks are well designed and planned as a part of the existing scheme for the whole church. Then and then only does embroidery become a visual church art.

The real question remains: is the Church prepared to allow contemporary designers and artists to work for her in such a way that while remaining loyal to the fundamentals of religious truth they have the freedom to bring their own expertise and secular knowledge into the service of the Church in a real living way? Or are we simply to stay where we are, using traditional formulae which are dead to contemporary men and meaningless to today's world? The choice lies with the Church.

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SACRED GEOMETRY*

by Colin Dudley

"The Middle Ages had a passion for order."

"The second characteristic of mediaeval iconography is obedience to the rules of a kind of sacred mathematics. Position, grouping, symmetry and number are of extraordinary importance."

"The third characteristic of mediaeval art lies in this, that it is a symbolic code."

These three quotations are the opening sentences of the first three chapters of *The Gothic Image* by Emile Mâle, first published in 1910. They provide in a few words the essence of mediaeval art. However haphazard and informal the mediaeval town, village or house, even the domestic buildings of a priory may appear, within any religious context all artistic matters were regulated not by subjective aesthetic judgements but by strictly logical patterns of thought that were firmly based upon, and inspired by, the theology of the period. It was never questioned that every part of a religious building and every object within it should in its form and in its position be disposed in such a manner as to demonstrate and to satisfy the divine law that emanated from the mind of God.

Essential to Christian theology in the Middle Ages was the belief that the mind of God was essentially a mathematical mind. It was further believed that the mathematical nature of the thoughts of God could be seen in the forms to be found in His created world. "The Divine wisdom is reflected in the numbers impressed upon all things," wrote St. Augustine in the fourth century. Of course this view is not exclusive to Christian theology, for it represents an aspect of human thought that must have had its origins in the days when men first began to look at the snowflake, to draw circles in the sand and to wonder at the nature of the powers that created and dominated the world.

Numbers, and the geometrical forms that exemplify numerical concepts, have played a vital part in religious activity in every part of the ancient world. Mathematics, of which geometry was the highest form, was studied not for its own sake but as the means by which the Divine powers could be understood and dealt with. The magician was the mathematician and the mathematician was the master of magic. Even in the Greek world geometry was fundamentally a seeking to know and come nearer to God. "God is a geometrician," said Plato and in this he was only restating the beliefs that led Pythagoras to form the religious sect whose monastic life was based on the belief that the way to God was to be found in the study of geometry.

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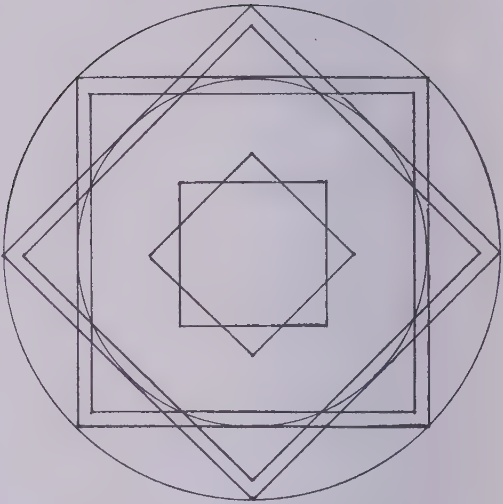
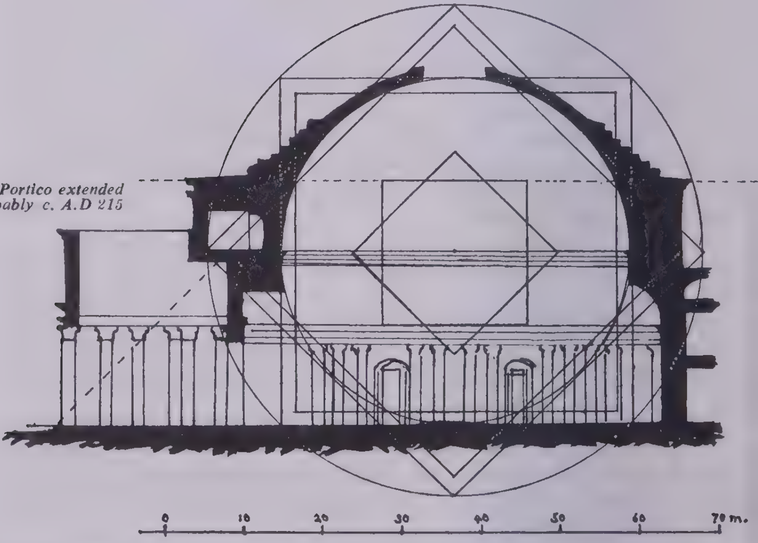
* Mr. Dudley's article is based on his recent thesis, "Becket's Cathedral: An Investigation into Aspects of the Architecture of Canterbury Cathedral in the Twelfth century".

Fig. 1

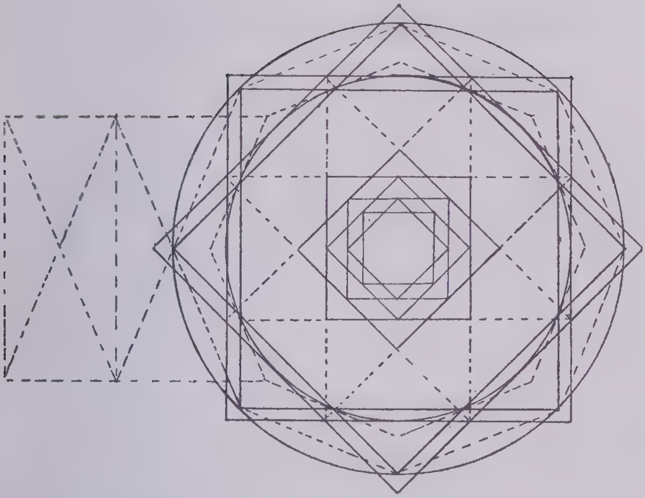


The sacred diagram of the Pantheon, Rome


Portico extended probably c. A.D 215
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70 m.

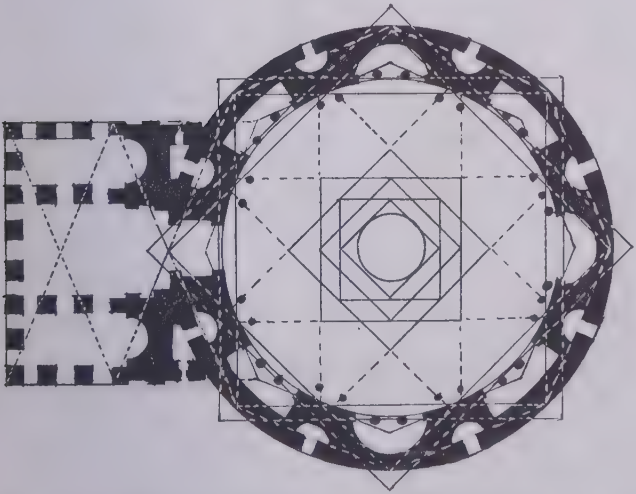
The Pantheon, Rome, North to South section with sacred diagram imposed c. A.D. 120

Fig. 2a



The plan development of the sacred diagram of the Pantheon

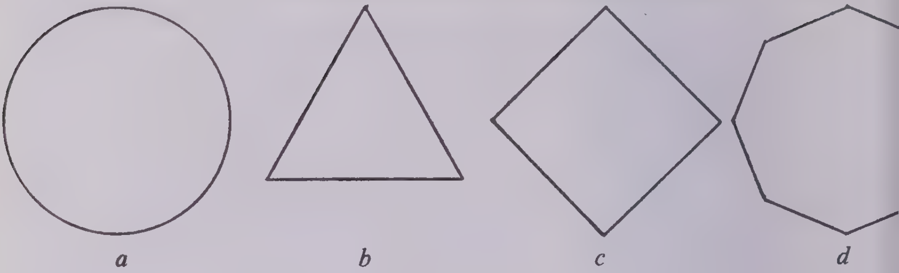
Fig. 2b



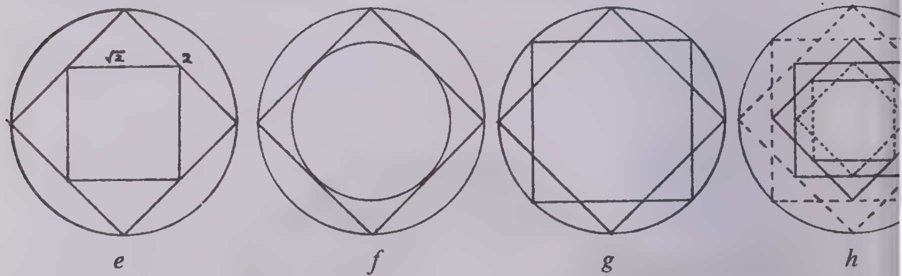
The ground-plan of the Pantheon at Rome, with sacred diagram imposed

Fig. 3

Perfection *The Spiritual Realm* *The Temporal Realm* *The New L*



AD QUADRATUM. Basic developments on the square



The Octagram

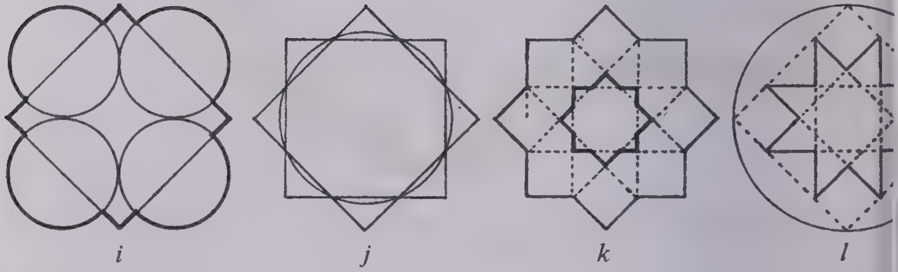
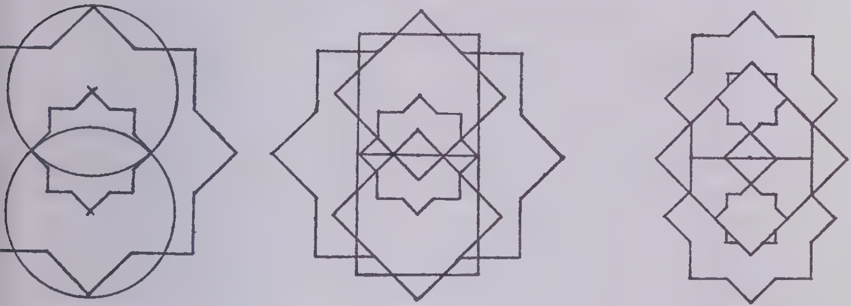


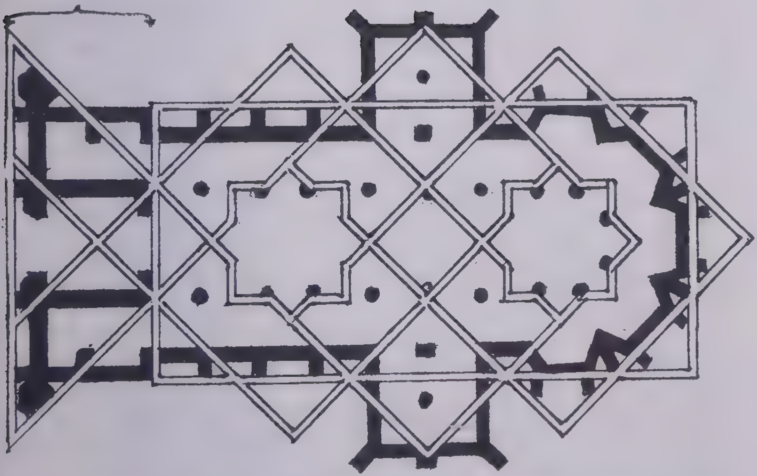
Fig. 5

The construction of the Dodecaïd, or Twelve-pointed star, or Trinity Diagram



The Trinity Diagram, symbol of Christ's Body and of His Church

Fig. 6



Remnant of thirteenth century church

An analysis of the Sacred Geometry of St. Mary's Church, Wismar, c. 1350, according to Dr. G. Lesser

We are not surprised to find that the temples of the Classical world, like the Pyramids of Egypt, were designed, in both plan and elevation, upon geometrical schemes. The Pantheon in Rome (Figs. 1 and 2) is a very clear example of the use of circle, square and octagon construction in deciding the dimensions of a building and the positions of its openings and other components. The thickness of walls was decided, not by calculations of weight and dynamic stress, but by the demands of a special form of geometrical pattern-making. Of course great experience of what would stand and what would fall down was also called upon in planning the general dimensions, but nothing as vague as guess-work based on experience would have been regarded as a suitable basis for the design of a religious building. Geometry was the invention of the gods, and belief in the geometrical integrity of the natural and of the supernatural worlds was fundamental to Classical life and thought. Any sacred structure that did not conform in all its parts to this integrity would not be acceptable to the divine powers, and would not attract the divine presence.

An important aspect of the geometry of the Pantheon (c. A.D. 120) is the manner in which the original geometrical pattern was developed when the entrance portico was extended, c. A.D. 215 (Fig. 2b). This principle, that alterations and extensions could be made to a sacred building only if the new geometry conformed to the geometrical scheme of the original building, is a principle that plays a vital role in the design of the cathedrals of the Middle Ages.

Perhaps only during the last hundred years has full recognition been given to the contribution that Classical culture made to Christian belief and behaviour. When Christianity first made its great impact upon the Roman world, it seemed to many who might otherwise have been sympathetic to its ethical viewpoint that, because of its lack of philosophical roots, the adoption of Christianity presented an intellectual void that threatened to destroy not only the bad things in Roman life but the good as well, in particular scientific studies, mathematics and the study of history. The conflict between pagan philosophy and Christian belief could well have ended in the disappearance of both, but this danger was overcome largely through the work of such men as Augustine of Hippo who, son of a pagan father and of a Christian mother, devoted himself to the problem of resolving the conflict that existed as such within the whole of the Roman world. One means by which Augustine was able to achieve this integration of Neo-Platonic philosophy and Christian belief was by the development of a system of theological thought, through which mathematics could be shown to have validity within the Christian context and could be seen to demonstrate Christian truths.

The use of numbers and of geometrical forms as a code by means of which religious mysteries could be expressed and divine powers invoked, is of course a craft of immeasurable antiquity. Set within the Christian context some of the ancient interpretations continued unchanged, whereas in other cases symbols developed new meanings and added importance.

The circle was the ancient symbol of perfection. (The use of the circle as a mathematical symbol for *Nought*, which developed from the introduction of Arabic numerals, was not in use in Europe until the Renaissance.) Its use in magic is well-known.

Two was held to demonstrate the dualism inherent in sacred things. Christ was both human and divine; two testaments; the Synagogue and the Church; the Old Covenant and the New; this life and the life to come.

Three, which is exemplified by the equilateral triangle, stands for the Holy Trinity, and thus for the realm of the soul and of all things spiritual. It is of interest that apart from the circle the equilateral triangle is the simplest of all geometrical constructions.

The square, which is the figure of *Four*, was the symbol of the material world, being the number of the elements and of the winds. It was also the number of the Evangelists who, like the four rivers of paradise, spread the living water of God's word to the four corners of the earth.

Five is found in many Biblical contexts; The books of Moses, the wise and the foolish virgins, five talents, five loaves, five wounds of Christ, five mysteries of Christ. The pentagon is, however, difficult to construct and is seldom used artistically. Nevertheless, F. M. Lund, in *Ad Quadratum*, has made a strong case for its use in the design of the Cathedral of Nidaros at Trondheim. The pentagram or five-pointed star, Solomon's Seal, is found in magic as a charm against evil spirits. It also leads to the construction of the well-known golden section which had such great importance in the art of the Italian Renaissance.

Six and the hexagon are associated with man who was created on the sixth day. The six-pointed hexagram is the Star of David and is closely related to the equilateral triangle. To set the figure or symbol of Christ within a circle would have been to demonstrate the Incarnation and would have been a suitable design for a Eucharistic paten.

Seven, one of the most mysterious numbers, was the number of the life of man. It was the sum of four, the number of the material flesh, and of three, the number of the soul. Human life is composed of seven ages, each associated with one of the seven virtues and each governed by one of the seven planets. The seven virtues are given strength by the seven graces obtained by addressing to God the seven petitions of the Paternoster. There are seven sacraments and seven deadly sins . . . and so on.

The perfect hectagon is impossible to construct geometrically and finds no place in sacred geometry, but the number of Seven was exemplified geometrically by grouping six hexagons around a seventh central hexagon.

Eight is even more sacred than seven, for coming after seven it is the symbol of the New Life, of the final resurrection implied in baptism. It is like the octave of the Gregorian scale by which all begins again. (An interesting example of musical symbolism is to be found in the "sacred folk melody" upon which Sweelinck composed his famous variations, c. 1600, *Mein junges Leben hat ein End*, which runs straight down the eight notes of the scale.) The octagon, so often the form of the font and of the baptistry, was the symbol of the New Covenant and of the promise of salvation. There are eight benedictions in the Sermon on the Mount, and Christ arose on the eighth day of the week. The octagram or eight-pointed star is the symbol of the divinity of Christ.

Finally we come to *Twelve*, which has a special geometrical form known as the dodecaid or twelve-pointed star (Fig. 5). This was the symbol for the whole Church of Christ and by analogy for the Body of Christ. It is also known as the Trinity Diagram. The theologians of the Neo-Platonic school believed that it was for profound mathematical reasons that Christ chose twelve as the number of the disciples. Twelve is the product of three and four and thus matter is infused with spirit, in order to proclaim the truth to the world and thus to establish the Universal Church.

It should not be supposed that mathematical symbolism was no more than an intellectual game with a sanctimonious flavour. To quote Mâle:—

> "The Middle Ages never doubted that numbers were endowed with some occult power. This doctrine came from the Fathers of the Church who inherited it from the Neo-Platonic schools in which the genius of Pythagoras lived again. It is evident that St. Augustine considered numbers as the thoughts of God."

It is also clear that of all the ways of expressing number the construction of a geometrical figure was a far more potent symbol than the written numeral or the spoken number. If the geometrical figure could be formed in some durable material such as marble it would be imbued with all the greater strength.

The symbolism of geometry in mediaeval art has been understood for some considerable time now. It has also been widely appreciated that knowledge of the Classical geometrical tradition in architectural design was widespread among the mediaeval monasteries:—

> " 'As above so below,' the activities of the Creator were reflected and echoed in the works of human artists, and these

> works depended for their utility, durability and beauty upon properly composed geometrical relations. The relations of buildings to human scale, and of their parts and those of other works of art to one another, were practical expressions of geometrical truth. This fact, and its particular connection with the practice of architecture had been detailed by the Roman architect Vitruvius writing some twelve centuries before the Gothic age began . . . . Numerous copies of his work and of epitomes and extracts of it are known to have been made throughout the Middle Ages. In England alone there is evidence that there were copies in the monastic libraries of Bury, Ely and St. Augustine's at Canterbury and in that of the Austin Friars at York, while a further copy was made at St. Augustine's in the year 1316 . . . . *Ordinatio* and *Dispositio*, the two primary components of architecture described by the Roman writer, were used throughout the Middle Ages to describe the work done by the chief building masters . . . ."
>
> (John Harvey, *The Gothic World*, 1100-1600.)

What has only recently become clear (and much still remains uncertain), is the detailed technique by means of which geometry was used to determine the form of the House of God. Of course geometrical correctness was only one of the many disciplines within which the architect had to work. The traditional arrangement of chapels, etc., the liturgical demands, the constructional methods and materials at his disposal, the progressive and the conservative ideas of the patrons, all had to be taken into account and these controls are well understood. But sacred geometry was a secret art, confided only to a privileged few, the bishops and priors such as Lanfranc and Ernulph who designed the early cathedrals, and later to the lay master-masons who in the twelfth century took charge of the complexities of building in the Gothic style.

In recent years, however, the discovery of a number of documents and their scholarly interpretation have thrown a good deal of light on the details of the art. A well-known record concerning the building of Milan Cathedral describes a dispute that took place in 1391 on the question whether the church should be designed *ad Quadratum or ad Triangulum*. There is a similar record of a dispute over the rebuilding of the cathedral at Sens:—

"The new work ought not to be proceeded with any further because, if completed as it has been begun, it would not have that measure in length, breadth and height *which the rules of the church require*."

Most importantly we now have treatises on design written by Spanish and German master-masons of the later Gothic period, the well-known notebook of Villard de Honnecourt, a master-mason of about 1250, and a great deal of hitherto secret information concerning the rules of German mediaeval masonic lodges and the architectural training of their members. The assiduous work of scholars, particularly of German art historians, in the interpretation of such documents and in the methodical analysis of the designs and dimensions of many Gothic cathedrals, have now provided a detailed picture of the techniques of sacred geometry, the rules that controlled it and the means by which its patterns controlled the design of sacred buildings and the placing of their sacred components. The modern analyses have been carried out by means of a great number of measurements and with the help of computers. The literature on the subject is difficult to follow and contains many mathematical terms. This has led some readers to discount the tradition as being beyond the understanding of the Middle Ages, but although the analytical methods of today are often highly sophisticated, the construction of the mediaeval diagrams is very simple and well within the skills of any secondary school-child with only a rule and compasses. No knowledge of mathematics is necessary to construct a sacred diagram.

The Rules of the Game

"A ground-plan is made by the proper successive use of compasses and rule" (Vitruvius, Book 1, Chap. 1). "Music also the architect ought to understand, so that he may have knowledge of the canonical and mathematical theory" (Ibid).

Sacred geometry was essentially a game played within strict rules. Only a pair of compasses and an unmarked rule may be used. The aim is to create patterns that may be used in the design of sacred buildings and other sacred works of art. Each design must begin with a circle. Straight lines must pass through two predetermined points (in other words, they cannot be drawn at random), but may be extended to any length. Any angle, including the circle, may be bisected. The intersection of any two lines constitutes a point. Circles or arcs of circles must be centred on a predetermined point and must pass through a predetermined point, or touch a predetermined line. Finally, symmetry must be maintained. The essence of the game is that every development is predetermined although often unpredictable.

Except for the final rule on symmetry these rules are those that govern the constructions of the first six books of Euclid. They can be divided into two categories; those that begin with the square within the circle (*ad quadratum*) and those that begin with the equilateral triangle within the circle (*ad triangulum*). Here and now we must limit ourselves to the study of *ad quadratum*, which appears to be the style associated with Norman Romanesque art and thus with Canterbury. The constructions of sacred geometry *ad quadratum* are basically those of the square within the circle and the circle within the square, and from these develop the octagon within the circle and the circle within the octagon. These lead in turn to the important figure of the octagram or eight-pointed star (Fig. 3g). A simple development of the octagram leads to the construction of the small core octagram (Fig. 3k). The complete figure is the symbol of the Divine Christ and is often found in proximity to His image (Fig. 4).

From the large octagram and its core octagram was developed a form of twelve-pointed star or dodecaid known as the Trinity Diagram (Fig. 5). This was the symbol of the Body and Whole Church of Christ. It was upon this that the larger churches of the Middle Ages in northern Europe were planned (Fig. 6).

The Origins of Sacred Geometry

It will be seen that the construction of the octagram and the many patterns derived from it have their origin in the problem that occupied the minds of the Greek geometricians to the point of obsession, *i.e.*, the squaring of the circle. As all schoolchildren know, this problem was concerned with the definition in numerical terms of the relationship between the area of a circle and its radius. This relationship is closely related to the ratio between the area of a circle and the area of the square that it inscribes. Archimedes developed an approach to the problem based on inscribed and circumscribed regular polygons. It is perhaps of interest that their search for π and for other irrational numbers, that fascinated mathematicians from the 5th century B.C. until the 18th century, has led to an enormous amount of mathematical knowledge including the invention of the differential calculus.

It is remarkable that the very simple operation of circumscribing the square and the equally simple operation of drawing the square within the square produce extremely complex mathematical results. For instance, the area of the square within the square is of the ratio 1 : 2 in relation to the larger square, a "musical" relation, but the ratio of their *sides* is as $1 : \sqrt{2}$, which is an irrational, or "silent" number that cannot be expressed as a numerical ratio. The Pythagorean philosophers refused to believe that such ratios were ultimately inexpressible, for such an idea seemed to strike at the basis of their belief in the mathematical integrity of the universe. They did not doubt but that the answers to these problems lay hidden in the mind of "The Great Geometer", which they diligently sought to fathom. It is no surprise to find that the Neo-Platonic theologians of the Christian era continued to see in such simply constructed ratios a mystery that wonderfully demonstrated the ineffability of the thoughts of God.

The Uses of Sacred Geometry

Diagrams such as those described were used as the means by which sacred works of art in the early Middle Ages were designed.

Sometimes the geometrical basis of a design is explicit, sometimes hidden or occult, but in embroidery, enamels, jewels, carvings, mosaics, and above all in architecture it was a sacred diagram that provided the framework within which each design was conceived and developed.

The application of the art of sacred geometry to architectural design was straightforward. A decision having been made on whether the plan should be based on the square, the triangle, or perhaps, as at Trondheim, on the pentagon (and this was largely a matter of local tradition), a diagram developed from the dodecaid was constructed on parchment or panel, perhaps in silverpoint. In the early Middle Ages this would be done by the senior theologian such as Lanfranc and Ernulph, his successor at Canterbury. The various parts of the church, its walls, chapels, doors, windows, pillars, and above all its altars, were disposed in such a manner that they fitted along the lines and points of the diagram. A well-known example of this principle is the placing of altars upon the "chord" or diameter of a semi-circular apse, the altar thus being sited in the centre of the circle. The elevation of the church would be worked out in a similar manner.

When the plan of the church had been worked out the diagram would be drawn upon the site. This would have been a simple matter, for the restriction to compasses and rule meant that the diagram could be constructed upon the ground using only a ball of twine and a bag of pegs. The Bishop would proceed to the site, and after the necessary sprinkling of the earth with holy water to cleanse it of evil spirits, a cross or a stone inscribed with a cross would be implanted in the chosen centre. Later, perhaps on the third day, at dawn, a second stake or stone would be set down in line with the rising sun. The distance from the first stone to the second determined the eventual size of the building. Then the primary circle would be drawn and the octagram within it, from which would be constructed the dodecaid and its various developments. Then the foundations would be marked out in accordance with the plan, along the lines of the sacred diagram.

If a building were to be extended or altered, the geometry of the new work had to be derived from the diagram of the old work.

It will be seen that the use of geometrical constructions based on the square and the circle is closely related to the constructional methods of Roman and Romanesque builders. The Roman arch was semi-circular, and the Roman vault is fundamentally square in plan. Vaulted Romanesque building is organically structured in terms of square areas, circular and semi-circular areas. This interrelationship between the practical demands of construction and the theology of design presents an integrated way of life that today appears remarkable, although to the mediaeval mind it would have seemed incredible if it had been otherwise.

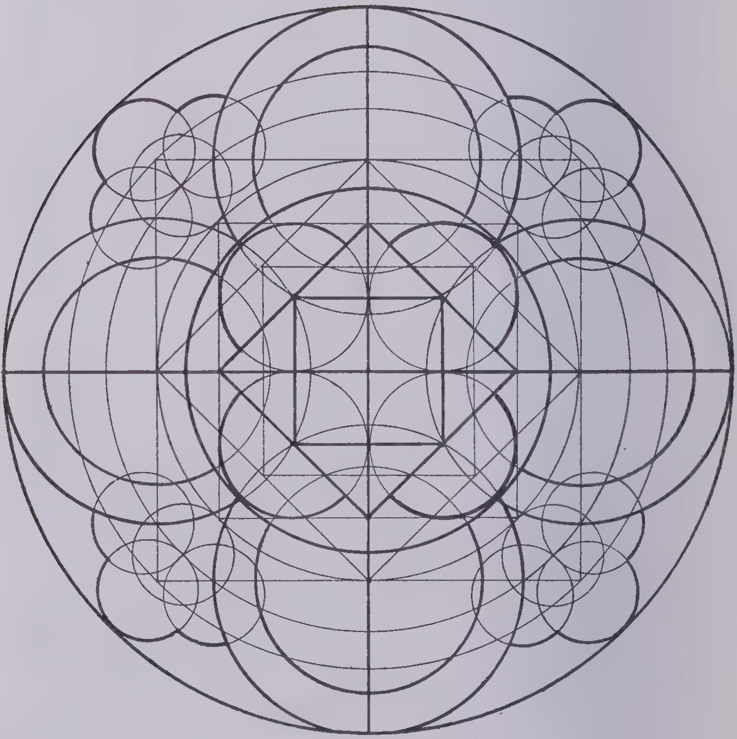
With the introduction of the pointed arch in the middle of the twelfth century, greatly increased complexities of vault construction that developed as a result, demanded skills beyond those of the priors, bishops and monks. A new race of professional architects arose, men whose main concern was less with theological doctrine than with constructional virtuosity. The tradition of sacred geometry was continued by these men, but adapted to the new conditions and gradually given a character that owed more to the technical skills of the master-mason than to the meditations of the theologian (see Morgan, B. G., *op. cit.*).

Sacred geometry was the invention of men who directed their minds towards every aspect of knowledge. Because of the nature of their religious faith they were bound to build this wide range of knowledge into a single integrated system of thought in which every part informed the whole. Mathematics was not differentiated from art, nor science from metaphysics. But when scholarship grew to such proportions that it could no longer be encompassed by one human mind and disintegrated into the specialised disciplines of today, and perhaps when theology changed direction away from the Platonic vision of perfection, sacred geometry lost its meaning. The architects of the Italian Renaissance revived the tradition but adapted it to humanist ideas. Today its vestigial remains may be seen in certain rituals and phrases used in freemasonry which, whatever its present character, had its origin in the craftsmen's lodges built to house the cathedral builders and the secrets of their guilds. Nevertheless, in 1960 when the Church of England college from which I write was being planned, the architects, Robert Matthew, Johnson, Marshall & Partners, drew a line through the axis of Canterbury Cathedral and extended it to the east. Upon this axis they placed the college chapel and around this they planned the college. The plan was submitted, like William of Sens' plan for the cathedral, in competition with the designs of other architects, and like William's plan the theological symbolism of the geometrical connection between the cathedral and the new Church of England college commended itself to the selection committee. The plan was chosen and the college was built. The spirit of sacred geometry is not dead!

The Geometry of Canterbury Cathedral

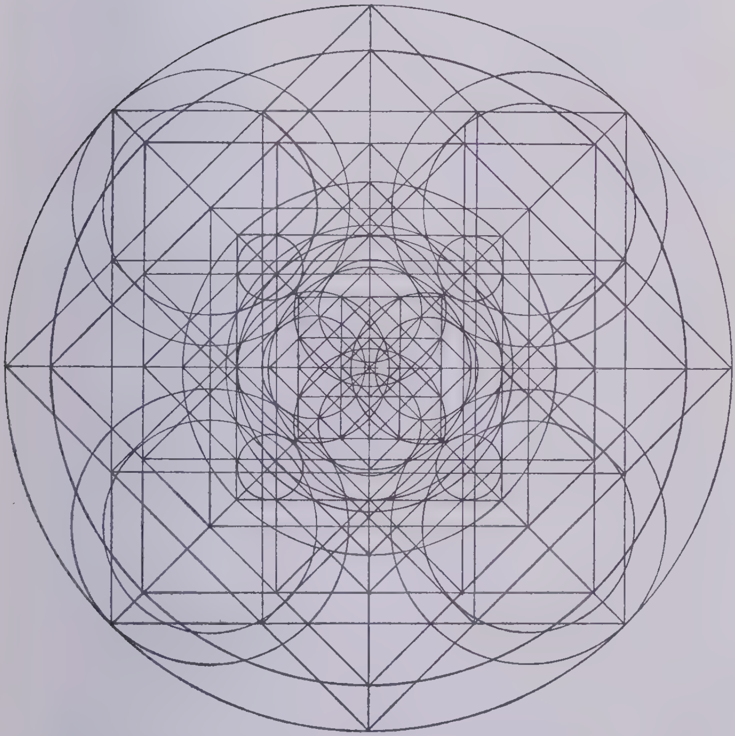
Although the designs of many European cathedrals and churches have been analysed and their sacred geometry deduced and published, including that of Westminster Abbey, the Cathedral Church at Canterbury has not yet received serious study, mainly because, unlike most of the other buildings, it presents us not with a single design but with a complex combination of several designs, the result of various rebuilding operations over a long period. Nevertheless, these designs can be distinguished from each other and can be

Fig. 7



The geometrical construction of the design of the circular windows (c. 1200) of the Eastern Transepts of Canterbury Cathedral
C. J. Dudley, 1969

Fig. 8



Canterbury Cathedral
An analysis of the geometry of the Marble Pavement
(Opus Alexandrinum)
Copyright C. J. Dudley, 1968

analysed. If space permitted I would wish to present my own analyses of these various stages of the growth of Canterbury Cathedral, but it must suffice to say that they suggest that Canterbury is not only one of the earliest but one of the most fascinating of all examples of this great tradition. I wish I could say more.

Science and Symbolism Today

The question arises: can a meaningful system of symbolism find a place in the religious art of today, particularly with reference to the place of science in modern theology? Certainly the language of visual symbolism is very much in evidence in secular life, in the heraldry of road signs and in the world of commerce and entertainment. Political movements of various kinds place great emphasis on the power of signs and symbols, but whatever commercial and political power symbols may wield, nobody today, in spite of St. Christopher, would credit any graven image, geometrical or otherwise, with magical powers.

In content, form and usage the symbolism of today must be different from the symbolism of the past, but whether a symbolic code is either necessary or possible today, and what form such a code could take, are problems that must be left to theologians and perhaps to time. The last one began before Stonehenge!

A Short Bibliography

This short article can do no more than provide a very brief introduction to the subject. A very much fuller account, with many excellent diagrams, may be found in the late Dr. George Lesser's three-volume work, *Gothic Cathedrals and Sacred Geometry*, Tiranti, 1957. In addition, the following works will be found to contain relevant sections:—

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THE GLAZIER AS MUSICIAN

by Lawrence Lee

Reading last autumn's *Chronicle* with pleasure and instruction I was led to ruminate over music in churches and, from there, once again upon the business of art in religious buildings; I say once again because I seem to have had this problem on my mind throughout my entire working and teaching life. Why art and religion should be a problem I don't know; cannot we be jolly and mediaeval and let the thing take its own course? It seems not. We have Art out there somewhere looking down its nose at church art while Religion looks over its spectacles and wonders about "involvement" and the place of the artist in the service of the Church; the P.C.C. is annoyed with the D.A.C. because they have turned down some stereotyped stained glass designs and I am patiently reasoning with a client who wants me to do Holman Hunt's *Light of the World* in a window.

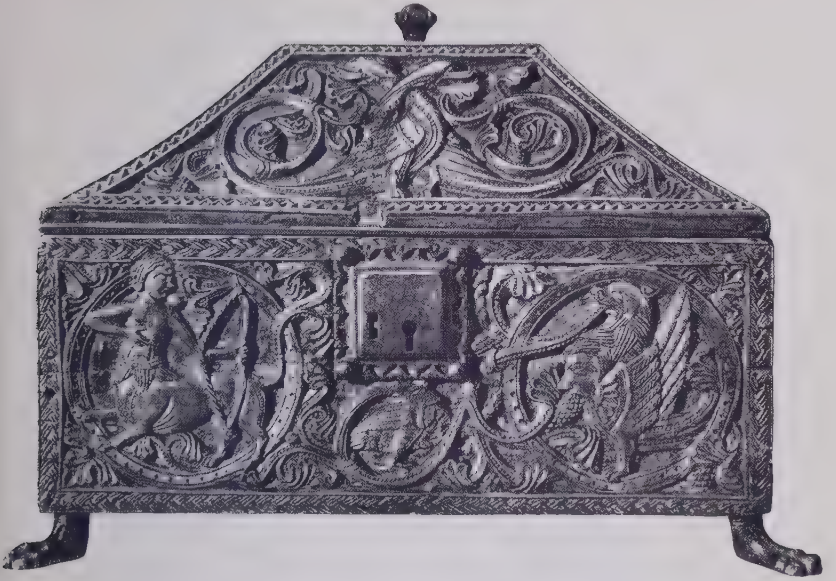
I think the God of the worshipping, creative man is not very interested in Art or Religion unless they are willing to drop their capital letters. His spirit blows where it will, offering the beauty of wisdom for the ashes of pride and is justified of all its children. So, led by instructed musicians I come to a different vantage point and the landscape of the problem takes on a fresh aspect. For there seems to be a body of authentic, unselfconscious work in church music which ought to have its counterpart in the visual arts. The clue to what I am trying to say is found in Peter Hurford's remark about hearing being "one of the senses most conducive to prayer"; as one who works by what is seen I naturally began to consider how much seeing is conducive to prayer. Looking around you in church was a thing I was told to resist and when you prayed you shut your eyes—an ordinance for which I can find no authority in holy scripture. The trouble with my betters of those days—and they were good and high-minded and not to be set aside in easy condemnation—was their failure of imagination, not realising that visible, tangible beauty is as conducive to prayer as the spoken word. Can we say then that what is seen in a church is as functional to worship as is music? We can, but before we get tangled in the confusion of religious art we must be clear about the intention behind what is formally seen.

Commissioning artists to do work in a church means that something special is required of them; the intention is towards a state of prayer—this is the only word we can use. For the Church is still no more, in essence, than the catacombs which was a known place and a safe place with no architecture and no history. A place where correspondence takes effect between God and man, a transcendental activity where art and religion lose all their defined boundaries and capital letters. We must therefore not look for an artist just because he is an artist, but because he is a special sort of person who has the skill to make our intention incarnate. And incarnation presupposes the use of the host material according to its nature.

I like the word musician; it means what it says. "Artist" can mean anything from a sort of god to whom we blasphemously genuflect to a skilled safe-breaker. So I call myself a glazier and that too means what it says. The position of the glazier in the estimation of the fine artists, *i.e.*, painters and sculptors, may be said to have plan but no elevation, so it is not surprising to find that they have a rather low opinion of our work and a false idea of why we are doing it. Mostly their premise about religion is all wrong; a good theologian could easily put them right were he not often un-nerved by uncertainty as to his own premise about art. When Coventry Cathedral was opened, an art critic, writing about the angling of the Nave windows, commended the cleverness of placing them in such a way as not to *distract the congregation* (my italics). Assuming the Anglican view is that all the works of man may be used to the glory of God, then it is right to suppose that stained glass windows are installed to do something useful in the worship of the Church. If a music critic had said that it was clever of the organist to refrain from playing a note of music during the entire Service of Dedication so as not to distract the congregation he would have been dismissed as absurd; so far as I know no theologian pointed out the absurdity of the quoted statement according to the catholic position. It is all rather baffling. Faced with bafflement, the empirical scientist will sometimes subject his ideas to an apparently unrelated set of laws or experiments, and I propose to experimentally remove the glazier's work from the field of Art and subject it to tests normally associated with music—and see what happens.

Analogies of art and music are usually imprecise, being derived from vague, romantic notions about art in general. Though there are some common criteria—proportion, contrast, form and so on—you cannot assert that a note is "blue", any more than you can assert that a painting has a "fugal" structure. Art lives in space in the instant vision of the eye; music lives in time in the progression of notes falling on the ear. Now stained glass is such an odd sort of job that art experts can scarcely bring themselves to include it in their field of study (painting, sculpture), so they will not mind if we remove their difficulty by saying that it is not so much "odd" as, in some exact sense, different. By one single exact test it *is* different, *i.e.*, unlike any other art it is seen by direct light, passing through the medium of glass and falling with physical energy on the eye. Light waves, shifting along the spectrum according to the glass it penetrates, activate the retina with direct effect, as sound waves activate the ear drum. The average coloured window will thus

PLATE 1



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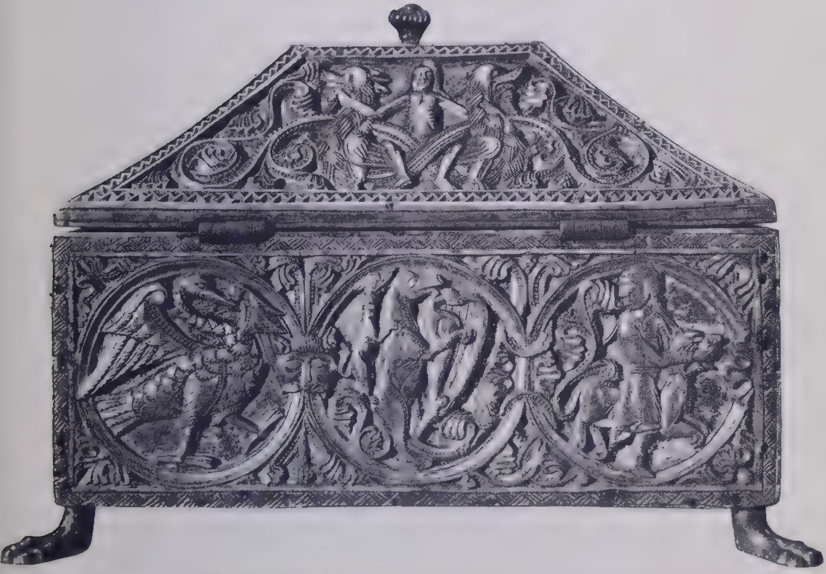
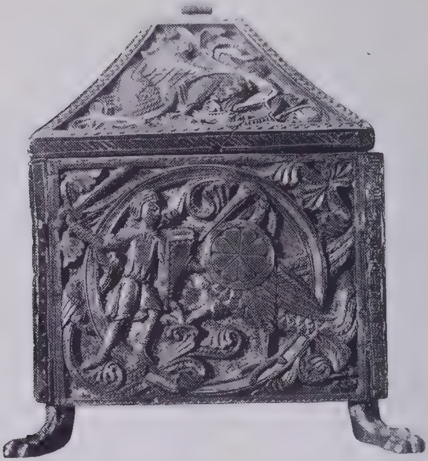


A Romanesque Casket from Canterbury in Florence, Museo Nazionale
Copyright (Plates 1-6) Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Firenze

PLATE 3



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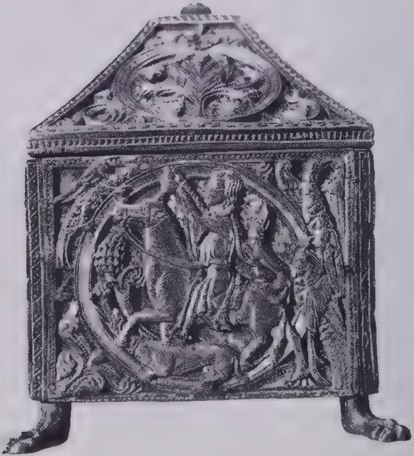


Romanesque Casket

PLATE 5

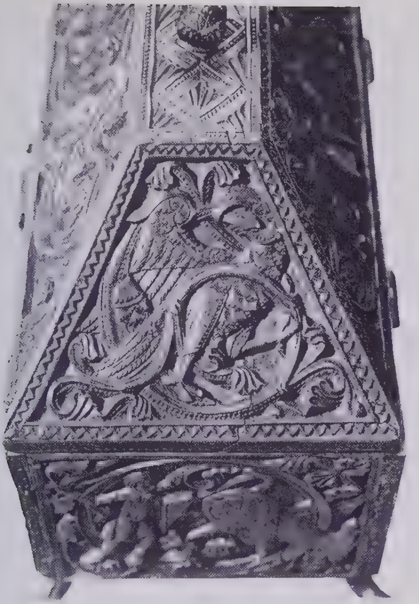
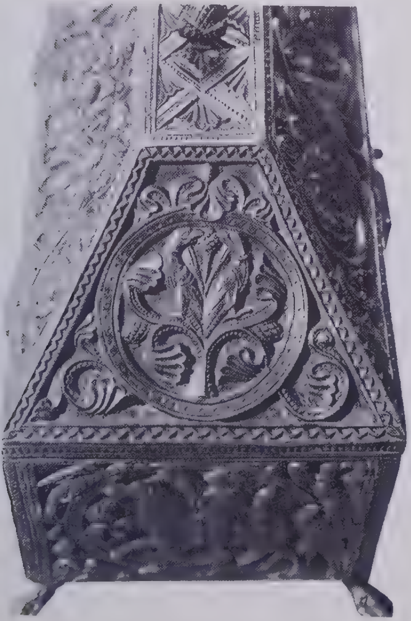


PLATE 6



Romanesque Casket

PLATE 7 *Crypt Capital, Canterbury Cathedral*

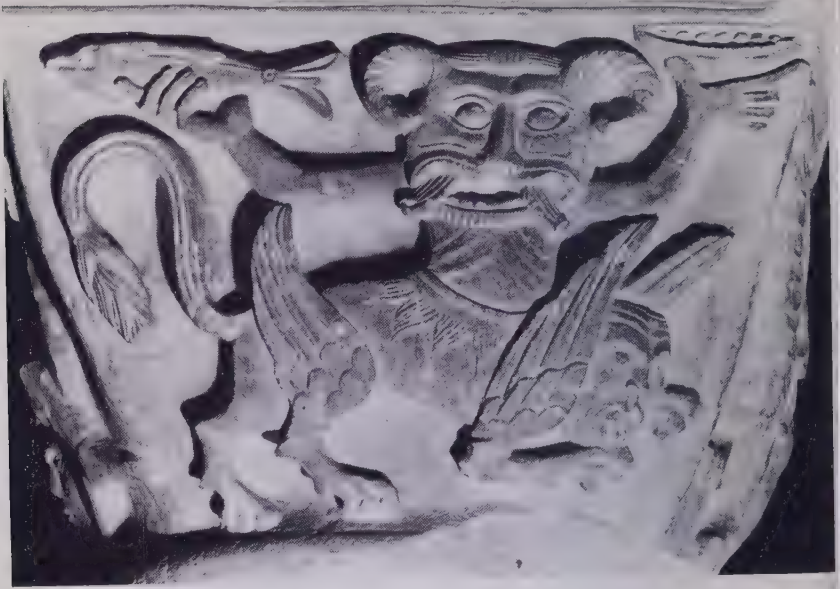
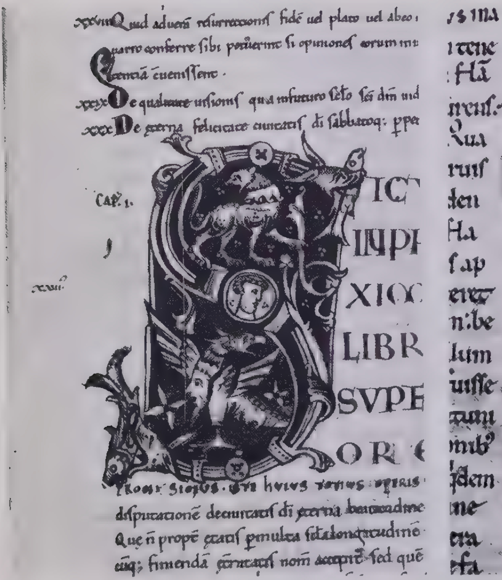


PLATE 8



ICT
IMPI
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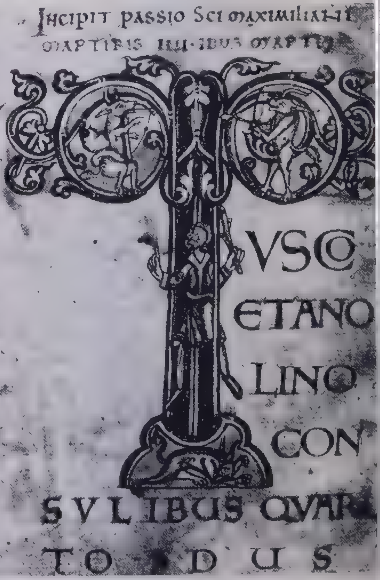
OR

PLATE 10



INCIPIT PASSIO SCI MAXIMILIANI
MARTYRIS IIII IDUS MARTII

VSCO
ETANO
LINO
CON
SVLIBUS QVAR
TO IDUS

Romanesque Casket

Canterbury MS. in Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Ms Plut. 12. 17, fol. 211

Canterbury Cathedral Library M.S. E.4 fol. 36v.

Plate 9

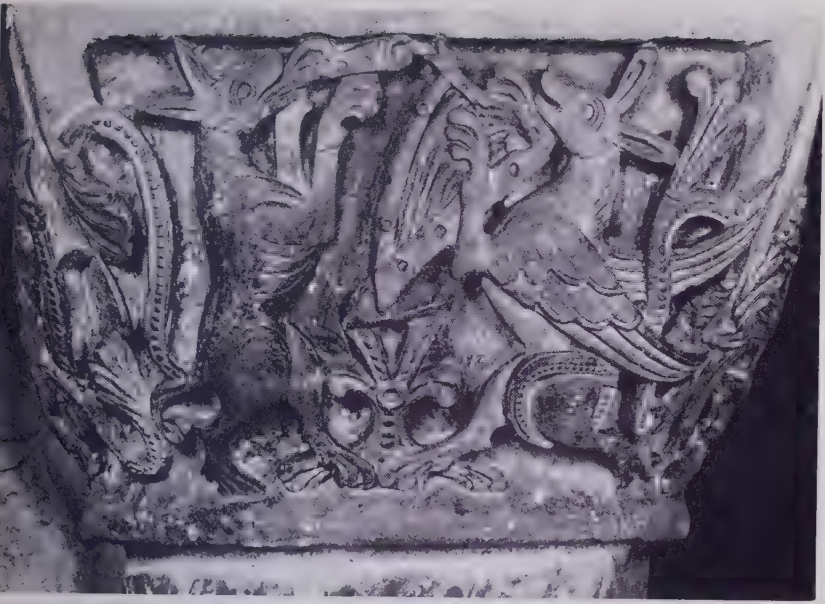
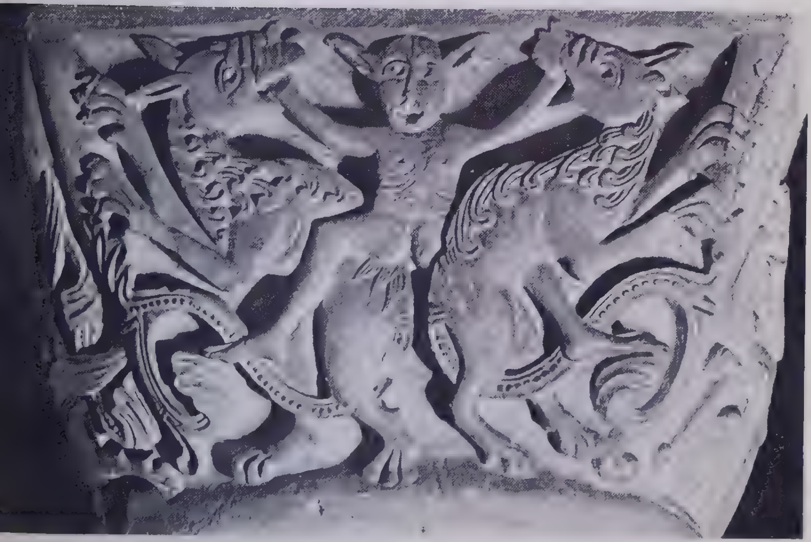


Plate 11



Crypt Capitals, Canterbury Cathedral

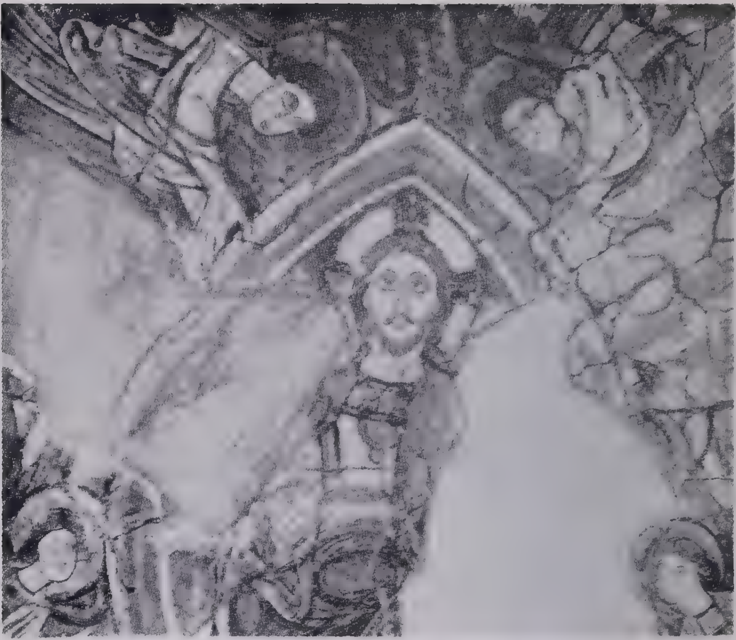
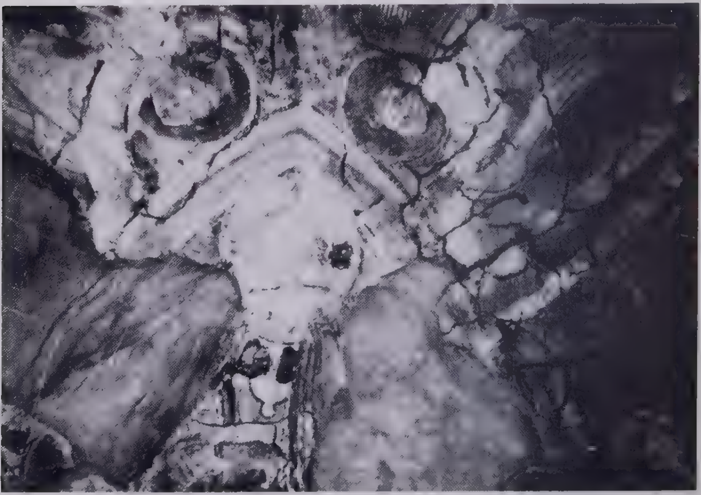


PLATE 1: *The figure of Christ before disintegration, showing plaster repairs*



St. Gabriel's Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral

PLATE 2: *The painted head of Christ after distintegration, much of the visible detail being provided by the artist's original sketch drawing*

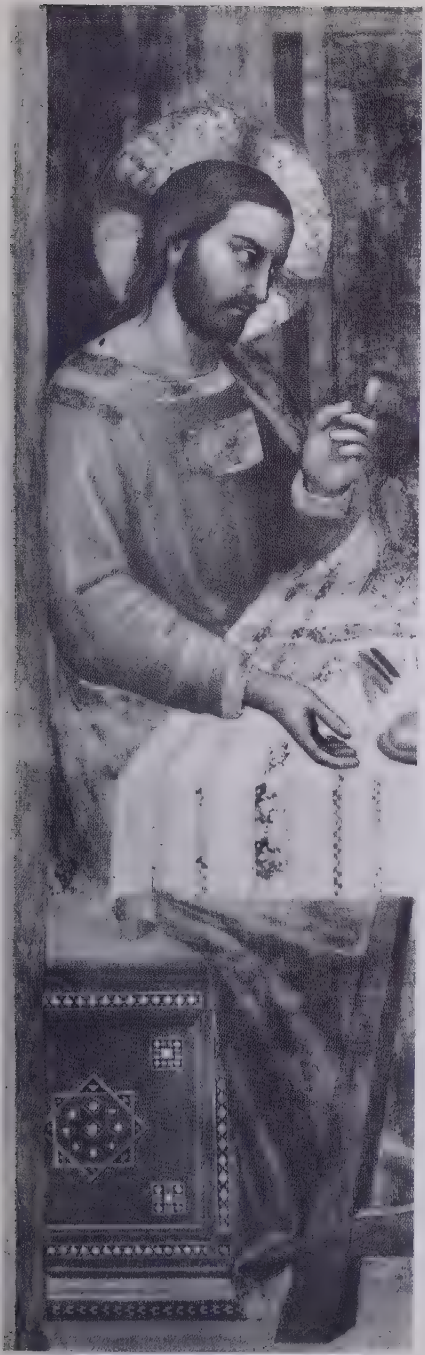
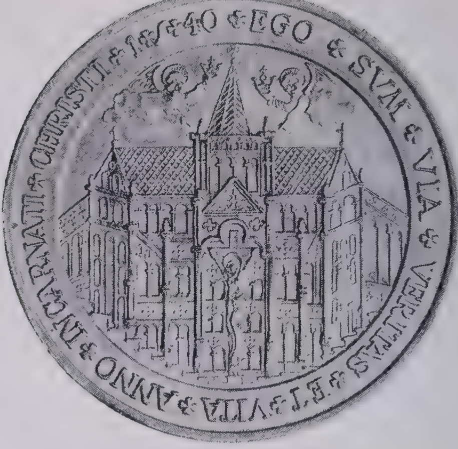


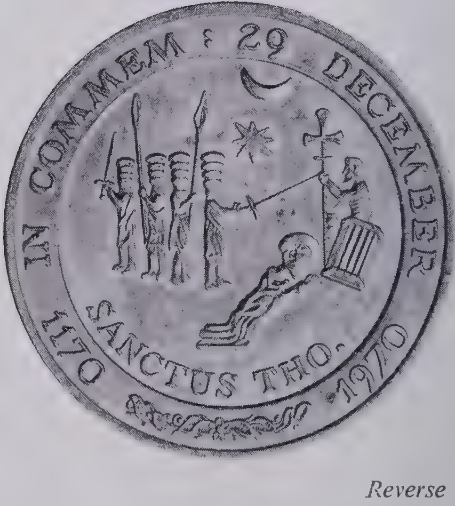
FIG. 4

Sacred Geometry

The sacred diagram of Christ, from a painting by Giovanni da Milano (c. 1350)


ANNO ✠ INCARNATI ✠ CHRISTI ✠ 1 ✠ 1 ✠ 40 ✠ EGO ✠ SVM ✠ VIA ✠ VERITAS ✠ ET ✠ VITA

Obverse


IN COMMEM : 29 DECEMBER
1170 SANCTUS THO. 1970

Reverse

Becket Medal 1970

signal many "notes" and, by virtue of a phenomenon called juxtaposition, various mixtures of notes or "chords" will appear to be present in the window. This effect is re-enforced by another phenomenon peculiar to transparent mediums—halation, or the apparent spreading of light beyond its source and round any solid or dense objects. Thus there could be said to be a vibrating visual image coming out from a coloured window, similar to the vibrating aural image coming out from an organ. To continue the perversity of my experiment, let us play about with some poetry which is using music as an image. With apologies to Shakespeare we will put it thus:—

"If colour be the food of light, strike* on;
Give me excess of it, that, surfeiting,
The eye may sicken and so die . . . "

This we will call the argument from excess. Much Pop music is aurally sickening if only on account of its noise. The cinema organs of my youth had the same effect when the organist showed off all the stops till the ear drums could take no more. There are many windows which produce a similar babble of "noise" on the eye and, because of the physical energy of the light, the effects are far worse than would be the case of a badly coloured painting. If then a bad window is a visual offence of an almost tangible kind, then this is a bar to worship, much as is an over-noisy organ during congregational singing.

One must not strain these analogies beyond the function of this article, which is to see how we can stimulate a state of prayer through conditioned light. The glazier's medium is light. As a musician contains sound formally, making even silence significant, so a glazier formally contains light and makes it significant by the very interruptions he imposes on it. Insofar as they make these conditions conducive to worship they are religious artists. Holman Hunt's *Light of the World* done in glass is not religious; it is an affront to light. The most prayerful music I know are Bach's 48 preludes and fugues; Gounod's *Ave Maria* is not a prayer but a romantic song. Becket's Crown in Canterbury Cathedral is not religious simply because it illustrates the life of a saint, but because it transmutes images into the language or "music" of light, seducing our eyes by its simple harmonies before we can discover what the figures are doing. In this initial impact on the eye stained glass is an abstract art; there is an immediate response to order (or disorder) in colour or design regardless of subject matter and it may be easier to worship in a Welsh nonconformist chapel with early 19th century industrial glazing than in a church filled with stained glass saints and angels put in by gimcrack firms cashing in on the Gothic

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* The word "strike" is not inappropriate. Glassmakers use the word for the appearance of the molten glass when, at a critical temperature, the elements giving colour infuse or "strike".

Revival. Though I believe a fine abstract window is a true help to worship, this is not to exclude the representational window. Far from it. A good window with recognisable subjects is better than a half-baked abstract. I must repeat, it all depends on the intention and how far the artist can incarnate his images into the material—glass. I can live with windows by Kempe more happily than with those by some modern stained glass artists amongst whom I include myself, for I have sinned and fallen short of the light.

What then do we seek? I think we need some leadership from theologians who will refuse to be bullied by art experts and who will clearly say (and I'm afraid at this point in history we may have to be negative before we can be positive) what the churches do *not* want. A prohibition like that of the Cistercians did produce work of great beauty and subtlety because glaziers had to think hard about how to get colour without breaking the rules, and similar things happened as a result of the Puritan prohibitions. Or again, the same effect of subtlety can be seen in Eastern art under the Mohammedan prohibitions. Franciscan art flowered from a man who fell in love with Lady Poverty. You cannot have Virgin Marys or Crucifixions in a Unitarian church but they are laid wide open to semi-abstract windows expressing the all-pervading Spirit that lightens every man. And I find that every man is not in the least worried about non-pictorial windows once he transposes his judgement of its content from picture-making to image-making with the "sound" of light. The beauties and subtleties are in the glass and if it happens to be a rather inspiring figure of the Virgin Mary so much the better. As I have said in another place,† at Chartres, La belle dame verrière is a beautiful glass Mother of God and she has a saddle bar right across her nose.

I don't think we shall find the answer by high conferences on art in the service of the church, but rather by going back into our mental catacombs and thinking about something quite different like holy wisdom . . . "for she is an effulgence from everlasting light, and an image of His goodness . . . ".

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† *Stained glass*, Handbook for Artists. O.U.P., 1967

A ROMANESQUE CASKET FROM CANTERBURY IN FLORENCE

by George Zarnecki

Recent research provides considerable evidence to show that, during the XII century, Canterbury was an important centre of artistic production. The two great monasteries, one centred round Christ Church Cathedral, the other round St. Augustine's Abbey, provided important artistic patronage as well as some of the artists. The scriptoria of these monasteries produced some of the most splendid illuminated manuscripts of the period, which were the subject of a detailed study by Professor C. R. Dodwell.[1]. The lay artists and craftsmen of the city, although no doubt working chiefly for the two monasteries and the local citizens, established for themselves a considerable reputation and, at times, received commissions from far-off places. For instance, it has been suggested that the famous Bayeux Tapestry was made for Odo of Bayeux at Canterbury.[2] There is also a strong probability that the Gloucester Candlestick, that masterpiece of English early XII century metalwork, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, was also produced at Canterbury.[3]

The purpose of the present paper is to discuss briefly a little-known object of great artistic beauty, a wooden casket, which I believe originated at Canterbury (Pls. 1-6).

The casket was first published in 1874 when it was in the Louis Carrand collection in Paris.[4] There is a strong probability that it was acquired in England, or that at least Carrand and his learned friends, Viollet-le-Duc and Sir Augustus Franks, realised that it was of English origin, for two electrotype copies of the casket were made, one for the British Museum, the other for the treasury of Notre-Dame in Paris. This last, covered with silver, was masquerading as a genuine XII century work and was christened "Coffret dit de St. Thomas Becket".[5] Viollet-le-Duc was engaged on the restoration of Notre-Dame between 1845 and 1856. Franks joined the British Museum in 1851, and it was probably sometime around that date that the copies of the casket were made.

Louis Carrand bequeathed his collection to the Museo del Bargello in Florence (now Museo Nazionale) in 1888, and when the catalogue of the bequest was printed in 1895, the casket was listed as No. 27 and described "Coffret byzantin, en bois sculpté, XIIe siècle".[6] Obviously, by then the connection of the casket with Thomas Becket or Canterbury was forgotten. Subsequently, the casket was removed from the primary collection and put into storage and thus passed into prolonged oblivion.

Interest in it was revived in 1955, when a photograph of the front view of the casket was published by H. Kohlhaussen, with a caption describing it as "Rheinish-westfälisch" and dating it to the beginning of the XIII century.[7]

I had known for some years previously the Paris and the London copies of the casket, but was unaware of the whereabouts of the original. As a result of Kohlhaussen's reference to the Bargello, and thanks to the kindness of the Soprintendente, Sr. Filippo Roni, I was able to examine the object and came to the conclusion that it is a Canterbury work of the XII century. Consequently, when helping to organise the Council of Europe exhibition of Romanesque art in Barcelona in 1961, the casket was included in the English section of the exhibition, and in the catalogue I gave reasons for making the attribution to Canterbury.[8]

Description. The casket and its lid are made of oak. The bronze lock, the hinges, the feet and a knob are later additions, probably of the XIV century. The height of the box is 8 cm., the length 21 cm. and the depth 11.3 cm. The gabled lid is made of four trapeze-shaped sides, of which the larger measure 21 × 9 × 9 × 8 cm.; the smaller 11 × 9 × 9 × 3.5 cm. The flat top is 8 × 3.5 cm.

The decoration of the box consists of two medallions on the front (Nos. 1-2) (Pl. 1), three on the back (4-6) (Pl. 2) and single medallions on the sides (3 and 7) (Pls. 3-4). The subjects within the medallions are: No. 1. A centaur (half-man, half-lion) who has just discharged a bow at a monster in No. 2 (Pl. 1). The monster is half-lion, half-bird and has a human face on its breast. From the monster's mouth, a long branch of foliage emerges and terminates (under the lock) in a head which is biting a bird, which in its turn grips in its beak the stalk. The centaur's and the monster's tails terminate in foliage. Additional foliage fills the spandrels and all other surfaces. The whole side is framed by a three-stranded interlace.

To the right of this main face, in the side medallion No. 3, is represented the fight of a Pygmy with a crane (Pl. 3). The Pygmy, with a shield and a raised sword, faces the bird, also armed with a shield, though of a different shape. The spandrels are filled with foliage and there is a dragon to the left of the Pygmy. The belief that the East, and especially India, was a land of marvels, inhabited by strange, often monstrous races, was an invention of the Greeks, chiefly Ktesias from Knidos (early IV century B.C.), and was readily accepted by the Christian West. Pygmies who annually fight with cranes had already been mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad* (III, 6), and after him by numerous classical and mediaeval writers, and they were not infrequently represented in mediaeval art.[9] The closest parallel to this representation in medallion No. 3 is found on the bronze doors from the second half of the XII century in Gniezno Cathedral in Poland.[10]

The three medallions on the back of the box (Pl. 2) contain: No. 4 a bird, perhaps a crane, No. 5 a donkey playing a lute with a dog on its back, and No. 6 a man (Samson?) struggling with a lion. The medallions Nos. 4 and 5 are joined by a mask, but Nos. 5

and 6 by stalks of foliage. The two medallions on the front of the box and one on the lid are enriched with drilled holes, all the others are plain. The back of the box is framed by a border of geometric design.

It is difficult to see what connection, if any, exists between the subjects of these three medallions. The crane could be the extension of the subject in No. 3, but it faces away from it. The donkey in No. 5 was a popular subject in Romanesque iconography and, as suggested by Mâle, is derived from a phrase in Boethius in which Philosophy reproaches an unattentive listener with the words: "Do you listen to my words or are you like an ass before a lyre?"[11] This *Onos lyras Boetii*, or simply *Asinus ad Lyram*, which was so frequently carved on Romanesque Churches, could have had a moral meaning, alluding to a lack of attention to wisdom. The fact that the dog on the back of the donkey is biting its ears clearly signifies that the donkey personifies those who are deaf to the words of wisdom and truth. By contrast, the man fighting the lion, whether he is Samson or not, seems to personify the virtue of courage.

In the last medallion, No. 7 (Pl. 4), is a horseman hawking, accompanied by two dogs. In the upper spandrels are two hawks: that on the left is being recalled by means of a bait, a small round object which the hunter displays, while the other hawk flies with a dead bird in its claws.

The four sides of the lid are framed by a border of simple chevron. On the front (lid, field No. 1) are carved two dragons with foliated tails, their long necks crossing to form an × form (Pl. 1). To the right (lid, field No. 2) an eagle or some other bird of prey fights a dragon with a long foliated tail (Pl. 5). On the back of the lid (lid, field No. 3), two dragons with elaborate foliated tails stand back to back, while a nude man sits on their backs and holds their beards (Pl. 2). The fourth side (lid, field No. 4) is decorated with a medallion (with drill-holes, like medallions Nos. 1 and 2) containing a symmetrical plant and on its branches are two addorsed birds, their heads turned to the centre and pecking a fruit (Pl. 6). The branches of the plant extend beyond the frame of the medallion to fill the remainder of the surface. It is possible that this representation is meant to be read with the scene below, with the hawker, and that the birds sitting on the tree not suspecting their danger are part of the same composition. In such a case, maybe the hunter was meant allegorically as the peril to which souls (birds on the tree) are exposed. It is true that the interpretation of hunters varies a great deal and that, for some Christian writers, the hunter symbolizes Christ but, in most cases, he is the symbol of evil (*e.g.*, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, Peter Damian, St. Bernard).

The top of the lid is decorated with highly stylized leaves within geometric fields.

The motifs on the casket, and those on the Canterbury capitals and in the Canterbury illuminations

All the motifs described above are frequently found in Romanesque art, but several are particularly close to those which decorate the capitals in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, dated c. 1120,[12] or to initials in a group of manuscripts from the two Canterbury monasteries.

Let us examine the medallions in their numerical order.

No. 1. (Pl. 1.) The centaur does not occur on any of the capitals but it is twice represented in a manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge (Ms. O.2.51).[13] This manuscript, like all subsequently mentioned unless otherwise stated, was produced in one of the two Canterbury scriptoria. On the Gloucester candlestick (which, as already mentioned, was a Canterbury product), a winged centaur is shown, and a somewhat related creature, but with two sets of wings and a devil's head, is found on a crypt capital.[14] This most extraordinary composite monster has, in addition, a human face on its breast, and an identical feature is found in the next medallion (Pl. 7).

No. 2. A winged monster with a dragon's head and a second, human head on the monster's breast (Pl. 1). An almost identical creature is depicted in the celebrated Canterbury manuscript in Florence (Bibl. Laurenziana, Ms Plut. 12.17, fol. 211) (Pl. 8).

No. 3. A Pygmy fighting a crane (Pl. 3). The only similar representations known to me in Canterbury art, are initials in Trinity College, Cambridge (Ms. 0.4.7) and in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ms. Bodley 271, fol. 127). In the first, a man is being attacked by a bird with a dragon's head, and in the second, a man astride a crane-like bird is being pecked by it on the face. This last initial may, however, derive from classical representations of Leda and the swan. A struggle between a man and a crane or stork is found in the opening initial of a Rochester book in the British Museum (Royal 5.D.1. fol. 1). Rochester illuminations of the XII century are so strongly indebted to those at Canterbury that they are often difficult to distinguish.

No. 4. This bird is closely related in type to the crane in No. 3 (Pl. 2).

No. 5 (Pl. 2). Animals playing musical instruments are extremely frequent at Canterbury, both in sculpture and painting. The celebrated capital in the crypt (Pl. 9) includes four such animals,[15] and there are a great many initials with similar representations, of which one is still preserved in the Cathedral Library at Canterbury (Ms. E. 42, fol. 36v.) (Pl. 10).[16]

No. 6 (Pl. 2). Samson (?) and the lion. Amongst the capitals in the crypt, there is a similar composition, but it is more likely to be Hercules, since the man is shown nude. However, in Trinity College (Ms. R.15.22. fol. 102r.), Samson is depicted astride the lion and another representation of Samson occurs in a manuscript from Rochester in the British Museum (Royal MS. 6.C.VI, fol. 152v.).

No. 7 (Pl. 3). Although no parallel representation of hawking is known to me, a hunter on horseback occurs in a Trinity College manuscript (0.4.7. fol. 1r).

Lid, field No. 1 (Pl. 1). Dragons of similar design are commonplace in Canterbury manuscripts. They are particularly frequent in Harley MS. 624 in the British Museum.[17]

Lid, field No. 2 (Pl. 5). A struggle between birds and dragons. This is also one of the most popular subjects in Canterbury manuscripts, and in Professor Dodwell's book there are numerous representations reproduced, which show a close relationship with the casket.

Lid, field No. 3 (Pl. 2), A nude figure between two monsters on the casket, is very similar to a composition on one of the crypt capitals (Pl. 11). A somewhat related scene is found in a Trinity College manuscript (B.3.9. fol. 15).[18]

Lid, field No. 4 (Pl. 6). A very close parallel for this pair of birds within the medallion is found in the British Museum manuscript Cotton Nero C VII, fol. 46r.

Top of the lid (Pls. 5 and 6). Even the geometric decorations found on the casket can be closely matched in manuscripts, for instance in the British Museum MS. Arundel 91, fol. 186v.

It would be possible to continue this list almost indefinitely, pointing out similarities of details, forms of foliage, ornament and of style. The mask linking medallions Nos. 4 and 5 is found not only in Canterbury manuscripts, but also in sculpture. There are four such masks on one of the capitals. But what is most decisive for the attribution of the casket to Canterbury is the similarity between the general character of its reliefs, and the comparable Canterbury art of the first three decades of the XII century. In all these works, there is a characteristic vigour and liveliness of forms and above all, a similar decorative quality. All shapes are expected to provide a rich pattern. The beading is used to excess. The foliage provides a superb display of flowing, curving and interlacing forms. All these features are found in all Canterbury works of this period, and they are profusely used on the casket.

For this reason, the casket must surely be a Canterbury product. I do not believe that the similarity between the casket and the manuscripts should be interpreted as meaning that all these works were made by the monks. It is more likely that the casket, as well as the capitals of the crypt, were made by a secular craftsman who was in touch with and strongly influenced by the local monastic scriptoria. Thanks to Professor Dodwell's study, the chronology of the Canterbury manuscripts is fairly well established, and thus it can be said that the parallels for the casket came from a group of illuminations dating from between 1100 and 1130. This does not necessarily mean that the casket must also be dated so early. It seems more likely that it was made around the middle of the XII century. After all, it can be assumed that the patterns which emanated from the monastic workshops of the first quarter of the century remained in use in secular workshops for some considerable time. It is particularly the treatment of the folds that suggests a date later than c. 1130 for the casket. For instance, the overhanging folds of the tunic, fastened around the waist by a belt, in the scene *the Pygmy and the crane*, is a form that developed in late Romanesque art, just after the middle of the XII century.[19] For this reason, the casket should, I believe, be dated to around 1150 or even a little later.

The casket was not a reliquary since there are no clearly religious subjects on it. But whether it was intended for religious or secular use is not clear.

There remains the question of whether the casket had anything to do with Thomas Becket, as implied by the silver copy of it in Paris. This is not impossible. Becket's association with Canterbury went back to 1143, when he joined the household of Archbishop Theobald. He became Theobald's successor in 1162, and thus it is even possible that he acquired it then. The fact that this fragile casket of the XII century survived, though it is not made of any precious material, suggests that it was valued highly. Since it is unlikely that it was valued for its artistic beauty during the ages which despised everything mediaeval, it must have been the association of the casket with some important person that secured its preservation. Perhaps the mid-XIX century French tradition which linked it with Thomas Becket was right after all.

Notes

1. C. R. Dodwell. *The Canterbury School of Illumination*, 1066-1200. Cambridge, 1954.
2. F. Wormald in *The Bayeux Tapestry* (edited by Sir Frank Stenton), London, 1957, p. 34.
3. A. Harris. "A Romanesque Candlestick in London", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, XXVII, 1964, pp. 50ff. Mrs. Harris believes that the candlestick was made in the monastic workshop of St. Augustine's Abbey, c. 1107. But the existence of such monastic workshops is not likely. For instance, when the shrine of St. Edmund at Bury St. Edmunds was damaged by fire in 1198, the monks were unable to repair it and had to send for a lay goldsmith during the night to repair the damage before the arrival of the pilgrims in the morning. See: *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelong*, edited by Sir Ernest Clarke, London, 1903, p. 165.

4. C. Cahier. *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature sur le Moyen-Age*, Paris, 1874, p. 246, fig. C.
5. I have in my possession an old postcard showing the back view of the casket, inscribed: "196E.B. PARIS—Notre-Dame—Le Trésor, Coffret en argent (XII^{e}s.), dit 'de St-Thomas Becket'. Phot. N.D."
6. Collection Carrand au Bargello, Florence, Rome, 1895, p. 14, No. 27, pl. 27.
7. H. Kohlhaussen. *Geschichte des deutschen Kunsthandwerks*, München, 1955 (Deutsche Kunstgeschichte, Band V), p. 101, pl. 86.
8. Catalogue: *L'Art roman*, Barcelona—Santiago de Compostela, 1961, No. 565, Pl. 565. Small errors in the description in both the Spanish and French editions of the Catalogue were due to the translations, not to the original English text.
9. For detailed discussion of the problem see R. Wittkower, "Marvels of the East", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, V, 1942, pp. 160ff. For mediaeval texts, see E. J. Beer, *Die Rose der Kathedrale von Lausanne und der kosmologische Bildkreis des Mittelalters*, Bern, 1952, pp. 19-20 and pp. 71-73.
10. L. Kalinowski: "Le contenu idéologique et esthétique de la porte de Gniezno" in *Dzwi gnieznienskie* (ed. M. Walicki), Wroclaw, 1959, Vol. II, pp. 87-88, fig. 109. Another but later representation is found amongst the stained glass windows of Lausanne Cathedral, see Beer, *op. cit.*, Pl. 30.
11. E. Mâle. *L'art religieux du XII^{e} s. en France*, Paris, 1922, p. 340.
12. G. Zarnecki. *English Romanesque Sculpture*, 1066-1140, London, 1951, pp. 22 and 34-35.
13. C. R. Dodwell, *op. cit.*, p. 63 and pl. 36d.
14. G. Zarnecki, *op. cit.*, pl. 52.
15. G. Zarnecki, *op. cit.*, pl. 56.
16. C. R. Dodwell, *op. cit.*, pl. 42d.
17. C. R. Dodwell, *op. cit.*, pl. 29a.
18. C. R. Dodwell, *op. cit.*, pl. 44a.
19. For instance, it is consistently used in the series of English enamels of c. 1160, see H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, London, 1954, pl. 194, figs. 444 and 445.

SOME VISITORS TO CANTERBURY

by Olive Stephens

No-one who visits Canterbury in the summer can fail to notice the crowds of people thronging the Cathedral. A bit putting off, some of us may think—and speaking for myself, I try always to come in the winter when I want to explore the beauties of its architecture and the glories of its history. But if one reads old accounts of this lovely building it seems as though it has always been like this, and Dean Stanley has written a vivid description of what he imagined the fifth jubilee of the martyrdom in 1420 must have been like. The chronicles speak of 100,000 people and however that may be, let us try to imagine the scene. "Englishmen, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh, Frenchmen and Normans and the inhabitants of the Channel Islands are amongst those stated to have been present. How various their motives—kings and ministers from policy and ancient usage, others for the excitement of a long journey with good companions, others travelling from shrine to shrine as men now travel from watering place to watering place for the cure of some obstinate disorder, some from the genuine feeling of religion, some from grosser superstition. What a sight, too, must have been presented, as all along the various roads through the long summer day these heterogeneous bands, some on horseback, some on foot, moved slowly along with music, song and merry tales, so that in every town they came through, what with the noise of their singing and the sound of their piping and with the jangling of their Canterbury bells, and with the barking of the dogs after them they made more noise than if the King came there with all his clarions and many other minstrels.''

It seems unlikely that Henry V was present at these celebrations, but two years later his body came to Canterbury after lying in state at Rouen before being brought by ship to Dover and then across the windswept Barham Downs to Canterbury. Sad and solemn though the occasion was, it must yet have been a time for crowds and sightseers in the narrow Canterbury streets. The funeral car was covered with vermilion silk embroidered with gold and drawn by six horses. Upon the car beside the coffin was an effigy of the King in all the splendour of royal array. Before and behind the car lamps were kept burning and in front and on either side marched heralds carrying banners, followed by 250 men all clad in white surplices and carrying lighted torches. Then followed the royal household in deep mourning and several hundred knights and squires in black armour with plumes in their helmets and their lances reversed. Next came the princes of the blood and the King of Scotland, who acted as chief mourner. To this grand procession the Archbishop and his Suffragans were now added and in the rear of all followed the young widow, attended by a numerous retinue.

When the mournful train reached Canterbury a halt was made and masses were sung from the first dawn of morning till 9 in the evening.

It takes me back in imagination to the great solemnities and celebrations when the body of St. Thomas was moved from the crypt to the shrine behind the high altar exactly 50 years after his murder. The boy King, Henry III, was present on that occasion, together with Pandulph the Papal Legate, and the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of Rheims assisted by many other bishops and abbots carried the coffin on their shoulders and placed it in the new shrine. The vast expense of the whole exercise crippled Archbishop Stephen Langton and the debt was not fully discharged for 40 years. For not only did he bear the vast expense of a sumptuous entertainment in his palace but he also provided at his own cost hay and oats between London and Canterbury for the horses of all who came to the solemnity, and he caused several pipes and conduits to run with wine in divers parts of the city.

Indeed, it seems that although generous gifts were made at the shrine of St. Thomas his popularity was a mixed blessing to the Prior and monks of Christ Church. For example, when Edward I and Queen Margaret and Prince Edward came to Canterbury in 1300 their offerings at the various altars and shrines came to £7 4s. 0d. However, the monastery gave the King £100 and the Prince £66 13s. 4d. In 1333, when Edward II visited Canterbury, Prior Oxenden and the monks gave the King plate totalling £21 9s. 6d. and a palfrey of £20 value. Nor was that all—next day Queen Philippa arrived with three-year-old Prince Edward and the convent gave her plate worth £16 8s. 3d. and a pony of unknown value. But the prince had to be content with an alabaster mug. Altogether that royal visit cost Christ Church £109 16s. 0d. Forty years later Prince Edward, returning from the French wars, broken in health, again visited St. Thomas's shrine and made offerings—no doubt generous, though we have no amount recorded. But from the monastery he received two silver boxes and £94 13s. 4d. in money. Not that the monastery was always out of pocket. Edward I gave generous gifts of goldsmiths' work and in 1299 the royal Crown of Scotland—found hidden in the baggage of John Balliol as he embarked at Dover. The most splendid gift was a great ruby offered by Louis VII of France in 1179; but presents from humbler folk were not relegated to obscure corners, for we read that when, more than 250 years later, the monastery plumber John Brown gave two beads of gold worth £10, they were placed next to the magnificent ruby, the French regal.

A Venetian visitor in the 16th century has left a vivid description of the Shrine before its desecration. "But the magnificence of the tomb of St. Thomas is that which surpasses all belief. This, notwithstanding its great size is entirely covered over with plates of pure gold. But the gold is scarcely visible from the variety of precious stones with which it is studded, such as sapphires, diamonds, rubies, balas rubies and emeralds. And on every side that the eye turns something more beautiful than the other appears. And these beauties of nature are enhanced by human skill, for the gold is carved and engraved in beautiful designs both large and small and agates, jaspers and cornelians set in relievo—some of the cameos being of such size that I do not dare to mention it. But everything is left far behind by a ruby, not larger than a man's thumb nail which is set to the right of the altar. The church is rather dark and particularly so where the Shrine is placed. When we went to see it the sun was nearly gone down and the weather was cloudy. Yet I saw that ruby as well as if I had it in my hand. They say that it was the gift of a King of France."

This was the Shrine that roused Colet to practise some Sophoclean argument with the monk who was showing him and Erasmus round the Cathedral in 1521. " 'Alas, can that be true, oh worthy father, which I hear, namely that whilst St. Thomas was alive he was most indulgent to the poor?' 'Quite true', answered the other, relating several instances of benevolence shown to those in need. To which Colet replied, 'And I suppose he is not even now changed in that particular except perhaps for the better?' The priest agreed that it must be so; to which Colet retorted, 'Since then this most holy man, whilst himself poor and lacking money for his bodily necessities was thus liberal to those in want, do you suppose that he would take it ill, now he is rich and lacking nothing, if some poor woman with a starving family or daughters in peril of their virtue for want of a dowry or a husband, laid up with a sickness and helpless from poverty should—having first asked the Saint's leave—carry off some trifling bit of all those riches, taking it, as if by consent, either by way of gift or loan?' Upon this the keeper of the Shrine pursed his lips, and if he had not known us to have the Archbishop's recommendation he would have turned us out of the Church." So wrote Erasmus.

In the event, as we know, not long after no poor man or woman took possession of the riches of the Shrine, but the King himself.

Yet through the centuries the Cathedral here at Canterbury drew pilgrims and visitors to herself. All the great, all the famous men and women through the centuries have come to this city and this place. Among them John Evelyn, who came to admire the windows and fortunately was not tempted, as he was at Stonehenge, to try to break pieces off with a hammer. Some forty years later came the incomparable Celia Fiennes, a lady for whom I have a great feeling of affinity. My husband always says that when we go away on holiday, the day after we arrive I come down to breakfast and say, "And where are we going today?" She was a lady of good family—Roundhead—who travelled the length and breadth of England on horseback accompanied only by two servants. And we must realise that the roads were infested by highwaymen and that in many places two horsemen could barely pass—or two wheelbarrows, as

Lord Harley remarked about the London-Canterbury road in places. So muddy was it that Sussex men and women were reported to have long legs from pulling their feet out of the clay. So along these narrow mirey lanes came this heroic lady to Canterbury from Sittingbourne.

"Canterbury opens to view 6 miles distant by the advantage of a high hill we pass over to it. It's a noble city, the gates are high but narrow, the streets most of them large and long and the buildings handsome—very neat but not lofty! The Cathedral is the finest sight here. The windows in the Choir are most delicately painted as ever I saw. The curiosity of the work and colours beyond others—but the size of the windows much inferior being very small for a church (what on earth does she mean?). Under the Cathedral is a large church. This is given to the French protestants in the town for the worshipping of God. It holds a vast number of people, it's as full of seats as can thrust by each other. It seemed a little darkish but they say when the doors are open it's light enough. It's so well arched they cannot hear them in the Cathedral when singing—at least no ways to disturb them."

Thirty years later came Daniel Defoe—or at least he said he came, but as he has been described as one of the world's greatest liars with a particular gift for making fiction sound like truth, there may be a particle of doubt. But what he had to say bears the stamp of personal observation. "The close where the houses of the prebendaries and other persons belonging to the Cathedral stands, is very spacious and fair, and a great many very good houses are built in it and some with good gardens, where those gentlemen live at large and among whom a very good neighbourhood is kept up. As for the town, its antiquity seems to be its greatest beauty. The houses are truly ancient and the many ruins of churches, chapels, oratories and smaller cells of religious people makes the place look like a general ruin a little recovered. (And here's an observation which brings us almost smack up-to-date!) The river Stour was made navigable in the reign of Henry VIII but the person who undertook it, not meeting with encouragement and failing in the carrying it on, the locks and sluices are all run to decay and the citizens are obliged to fetch all their heavy goods either from Fordwich 3 miles off or from Whitstable 7 miles off."

So we could go through the centuries, watching the great and not so great, the famous, the infamous and the not famous at all coming to Canterbury and falling under the spell of our city and our beloved Cathedral. But to end I'd like to go back to my friend, Celia Fiennes and her diary entry for the day she first looked at Canterbury: "From Sandwich to Canterbury 10 miles mostly through lanes, and so I entered Canterbury and observed all ways to the town being from hills gives the prospect of the town very finely to the eye, and indeed whichever way you look on it in the approach it looks like a good city altogether."

CANTERBURY 1970

THE THOMAS BECKET ANNIVERSARY

by Gerald Peacocke

"Next year the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral and the City of Canterbury will present a series of events to commemorate the murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket in 1170 and the Translation of his body in 1220 from the Crypt to the splendid shrine that stood in the Trinity Chapel beyond the Quire of the Cathedral until 1538. Thus Canterbury became one of Europe's major centres of pilgrimage, a reputation which 'The Mother of England' (*Mater Angliae*) still enjoys today." In these words, the preliminary brochure, printed this summer, describes the reason for CANTERBURY 1970, the impressive programme planned for next year.

It was some three years ago that the Dean and Chapter decided to commemorate the death of Becket with a major ecclesiastical and cultural effort: presently, the City Council took up the idea and the result is the plans outlined below. These are correct at the time of going to press, and it will be appreciated that there may be changes and that some events are inevitably not yet precise in detail. The result of the planning undertaken by Cathedral and City has been an apparently complex but easily workable and agreeably friendly arrangement, whereby the two bodies have pursued their own ideas in close consultation and collaboration but independently of each other, joining forces in two important respects: Son et Lumière and publicity. On 1st January, 1969, matters gathered momentum as Mr. Peter Carpenter returned to Canterbury to take up his post as General Manager of the Marlowe Theatre and the City's Festival Director, and the writer his as Manager for 1970 to the Dean and Chapter.

Both the figure of Thomas Becket and the events surrounding his life and death are provocative and controversial. The clash of powerful temperaments, the polarization of ideas, standpoints and loyalties, these are bound to provoke contrasting reactions, and it takes a detailed and sympathetic understanding of mediaeval history to reach a proper judgement. But whatever one's views of Becket's or Henry's character and personality, one's interpretations of sanctity, one's opinions of the mediaeval church, we are left with the incontrovertible fact outlined in the final sentence of the quotation with which this article began: the swift rise to prominence of Canterbury as a major centre of Christian pilgrimage directly because of Becket's murder. The manner of his death and the circumstances surrounding it filled people of all opinions and stations with awe and horror; it is one of those events that fires the human imagination, witness the many works of art, visual, musical, dramatic and literary, that arose from it, and some of which we shall be able to enjoy here next year. Henry VIII *had* to destroy all vestiges of Becket's shrine and cult; but he was unable to reverse the events and trends of history which decreed, whether we like it or not, that Becket's death be the most startling and commonly known event in Canterbury's long history—by no means lacking in dramatic incidents and remarkable persons.

It is against this background and the way Becket has continued to loom over the centuries that next year has to be viewed. And it is precisely because of the religious focus it gives to Canterbury and its Cathedral, because without the impact of Becket's death we should not have the Cathedral as it stands today, because the drama of his death is simple, timeless, and crosses all frontiers of belief: for all these reasons the Dean and Chapter chose to commemorate the event in the ecumenical spirit of today. By adding to this a full programme of first quality artistic events, the twin pinnacles of human inspiration are given their full expression and Canterbury looks out on the world at large in brotherhood and unity. To these plans the Archbishop of Canterbury has lent his fullest support.

The reader will by now be impatient for details and these are given below, grouped by type of event. In addition to the main programme sponsored by Cathedral and City, there will, of course, be many events throughout the year organised by local groups and organisations, including the Friends. Where such events are in the Cathedral or Precincts, these are also summarized below, and the Friends' place and contribution given in detail. First, then, the main Cathedral and City programme.

Services

Embracing the main period of events in the Cathedral, which will fall in the month of July (4th to 19th), two special services will be held:—

Sunday, 24th May, 6.30 p.m. (Trinity Sunday and Spring Bank Holiday Weekend), a special service with music. Becket had a particular devotion to the Trinity: he was consecrated Archbishop in 1162 on the Octave of Pentecost and celebrated his first mass afterwards in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity in the Cathedral. Henceforth, this became Trinity Sunday for him, so passing into the calendar of the English Church, being made a universal feast by Pope John XXII in the fourteenth century. It is fitting that this should be remembered next year.

Tuesday, 29th December, 4 p.m., a Festal Evensong, which will be attended by the Deans, Organists and representatives of the Chapters of the English Cathedrals. It is also hoped that this will be accompanied by a small but exquisite display of winter flowers centred on the Martyrdom and the site of the first tomb of Becket in the Eastern Crypt, on view to the end of the year. The service will end a very busy year, fittingly on the very day that left such a strong mark. It is a coincidence that Tuesday was claimed by Becket to be the day when vital events occurred in his life, that he was killed on a Tuesday and that next year both the Martyrdom and the Translation should fall on Tuesday.

The main period of services will fall in July, as follows:—

Saturday, 4th July, 11.30 a.m., Diocesan Eucharist and Youth Pilgrimage, at the St. Lawrence Cricket Ground, organised by the Revd. David Marriott, Vicar of Wye, with the Revd. David Naumann, the Diocesan Youth Officer, making arrangements for the young people. It is hoped that representatives of St. Thomas's Hospital in London, founded in Becket's name, will participate; and the occasion will link up with Evensong in the Cathedral at 3.15 p.m. The Youth Pilgrimage will take the form of a sponsored walk from various points in the Diocese.

Tuesday, 7th July, 12 noon, Roman Catholic Open-Air Mass in the Precincts, celebrated by the Archbishop of Southwark, the Most Revd. Cyril Cowderoy, on a special podium with altar and baldachino, contributed by the Archbishop of Southwark and designed by Mr. Robert Paine, Head of the School of Architecture at the Canterbury College of Art. This service will mark Becket's secondary feast, that of the Translation, and it may be added that St. Thomas of Canterbury is the Protector of the Pastoral Clergy in the Roman Catholic Church in this country.

Sunday, 12th July, 3.15 p.m., Ecumenical International Service, which will be attended by ecumenical leaders, distinguished Christian persons with particular historic links with Becket, Canterbury, and the Church of England (among others the Archbishops of Sens and Rheims, the Abbots of Notre Dame du Bec and of St. Matthias, Trier), and representatives of foreign churches in this country. The Archbishop of Canterbury will preach at this service and will be present at a simple ceremony immediately after it, when the Archbishop of Sens will unveil a plaque in the Cloisters relating the strong historic, Christian bonds that link the Cathedrals of Sens and Canterbury. It will be recalled that Becket spent four years of his French exile at Sens, and that William of Sens redesigned and built the new Quire of Canterbury Cathedral following the great fire of 1173, a task completed by William the Englishman.

Wednesday, 15th July, 3.15 p.m., National Service, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury will be the preacher, and to which Her Majesty the Queen and Heads of national Churches are being invited, as well as provincial, diocesan, local, civic, military, academic representatives and individuals, the Diocesan Bishops of the Church of England, and the incumbents of the 120 or so Church of England and Roman Catholic churches dedicated to Becket.

Sunday, 19th July, 6.30 p.m., Local Ecumenical Service, attended by the members and congregations of the Canterbury Christian Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church in Canterbury.

The preachers at the 11 o'clock Matins of the three Sundays of this period (5th, 12th and 19th July) will be the Archbishop of Wales, the Archbishop of Armagh and the Primus of Scotland respectively, in other words the Heads of the Church in Wales, the Church of Ireland and the Episcopal Church in Scotland. There will also be a National Pilgrimage organised by the Church Union on Saturday, 13th June.

Lectures

On Tuesday, 7th July, 8 p.m., in the Nave, Professor Dom David Knowles, O.S.B., the distinguished mediaeval and Becket scholar, will give a lecture on Becket, which will be reprinted in the 1970 *Chronicle* of the Friends.

The subject of the autumn lectures in the Cathedral (on 21st and 28th October, 4th and 11th November) will be "Christ and the Arts". The speakers include Lord Clark of Saltwood on Painting and Sculpture, Mr. Patrick O'Donovan on Books and the Press, Mr. Michael Elliott on Drama (with specific reference to T. S. Eliot), and Mr. Allan Wicks (our Organist) on Music.

Music

A whole series of first-class concerts in the Nave has been arranged for July:—

Monday, 6th July, 8 p.m., Denis Stevens and the Ambrosian Consort in a concert of 13th to 16th century music about and dedicated to Becket.

Wednesday, 8th July, 8 p.m., a recital by the distinguished 'cellist, Paul Tortelier, and his family: Maud Martin, 'cello; Yan Pascal, violin; Maria de la Pau, piano.

Thursday, 9th July, 8 p.m., a concert of jazz music by Mike Gibbs, a brilliant young musician and composer, with a group of about a dozen players. It is hoped that the concert will include a piece specially written for the occasion, a serious and fascinating new experience in our Cathedral.

Friday, 10th, 8 p.m., and Saturday, 11th July, 11.15 a.m., concert and morning music by the Melos Ensemble, one of our internationally most renowned groups of instrumentalists. The programme will include chamber music by Beethoven: 1970 is also the bicentenary of his birth.

Saturday, 11th July, 8 p.m., Serenade in the Cloisters by vocal and instrumental groups of the King's School, as part of King's Week which will next year run concurrently with the Cathedral programme.

Monday, 13th July, 8 p.m., a recital by John Williams, the distinguished player of lute and guitar.

Tuesday, 14th July, 8 p.m., a recital by the famous mezzo-soprano, Janet Baker, who will be singing for us in the midst of her season at Glyndebourne.

There is no concert on the Wednesday, because of the National Service.

Thursday, 15th July, 8 p.m., Yehudi Menuhin: details are not yet available, but we know that Mr. Menuhin is thinking in terms of a programme of words and music with one or two other distinguished artists on the theme of "Tolerance".

Friday, 16th July, 8 p.m., a concert of Renaissance and Baroque music by the choir of King's College, Cambridge, under David Willcocks.

Saturday, 18th July, 11.15 a.m., morning music by the choir of Canterbury Cathedral under Allan Wicks. Their programme will include a new choral work by Alan Ridout, with words by Patric Dickinson based on the contemporary accounts of Becket's murder. This work is commissioned by the Worshipful Company of Brewers, whose "founder" and patron saint is St. Thomas Becket.

On the same day at 8 p.m., a concert of old and new plainsong and polyphony from France, sung by the monastic choir of the Abbey of Notre Dame du Bec and the Ensemble Vocal Stéphane Caillat from Paris.

This completes the Cathedral's series of concerts, but Mr. Carpenter also adds a catholic range of music in his plans for the Marlowe Theatre between July and September. Included are:—Ballet for All, with dancers of the Royal Ballet performing *La fille mal gardée*, *The Twelfth Rose*, and *Coppelia 1870*; the Maidstone Opera with Beethoven's *Fidelio* and the new Kent Opera with Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro*; a week of Music of Today, including Johnny Dankworth and Cleo Laine. The plans also include the première of a new musical play.

Son et Lumière

This will be presented from 20th July to 9th September inclusive, on the Green Court as in 1962, but the entire programme, again directed by Christopher Ede, will be new, with a script by Robert Gittings, who plans to illustrate the problems of religious and political ideas and interests clashing through the centuries in a series of episodes, both serious and amusing, linked by a dialogue between Henry and Becket looking on from afar at events beyond their time.

Drama

From 25th September to 17th October there will be twenty performances of T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*, directed by E. Martin Browne. It will be performed in the Nave on a stage designed by Michael Cain covering the area of the altar and stalls, with costumes designed by Alix Stone. All the spoken parts will be played by professional actors, with a star lead in the part of Becket, while supporting walking-on parts will be recruited from local amateur enthusiasts. Mr. Martin Browne is, of course, a member of the Council of the Friends and directed the premières of all Eliot's plays. His new book on these plays is reviewed elsewhere in these pages. *Murder in the Cathedral* was written for and first presented in the Chapter House at the 1935 Canterbury Festival of the Friends, and has since become the acknowledged masterpiece on the theme of Becket's life and death in poetry and drama. Next year's production will be the first in the Cathedral itself.

The Marlowe Theatre will include what promises to be one of the most interesting events in next year's theatrical season, a new play centred on Becket by the Australian playwright, Ray Lawler, author of the excellent and successful *Summer of the Seventeenth Doll*. This will not be yet another historical play to vie with Eliot and Anouilh: Mr. Lawler will base his play on his highly successful B.B.C. Television play, *A Breach in the Wall*, in which he examines the repercussions of the finding of Becket's remains in a Kent village church today. With the stage in mind and with the development of his ideas, Mr. Lawler will in effect present an entirely new play with a challenging and thought-provoking theme reaching to the roots of today's ecumenical efforts and the contemporary place of Becket.

Exhibitions

An exciting visual focus will be provided in the Precincts in the shape of a piece of sculpture by Henry Moore, in the opinion of many the finest living sculptor. Mr. Moore has most generously agreed to lend the Cathedral a sculpture for display throughout the summer.

Two exhibitions are planned by the Dean and Chapter. These are: a display of manuscripts, seals, charts, etc., relating to Becket, King Henry II and their time, in the Cathedral Library, drawn from material in the Archives.

The second exhibition will be in the Chapter House from the end of July to mid-October. The schools and youth groups of Canterbury have been invited to display material drawn up from project work of every conceivable kind and of a very broad range covering Becket, Canterbury and the Christian World. Mr. N. Polmear, the Chief Education Officer, has kindly lent this idea his fullest support. Unfortunately, the number of contributors and projects from Canterbury alone is such that it is not possible to encourage others elsewhere, like corporate members of the Friends outside Canterbury, to participate.

The City has plans for a number of exhibitions between July and September, largely at the Slater Art Gallery and in the Dane John Festival Gardens (which will also include leisure areas and an open-air theatre), of painting, prints, photography, regalia, hobbies, etc. Among these, for instance, will be a Chamber of Commerce exhibition, a Royal Museum one showing the development of the Cathedral through the centuries, and one arranged by the Canterbury Society, comparing war damage and post-war development in Beauvais and Canterbury. The Marlowe Theatre will have an exhibition of Sir Henry Irving in Tennyson's *Becket*.

Commemorative Issues

The Dean and Chapter are making arrangements for the following:—

1. Becket Medal, 1970. Messrs. James Chase & Son have been commissioned to produce a special commemorative medal in silver and bronze, 2 inches in diameter. The design of this medal, by Mr. N. Wilson, is based on two ancient seals: on one side will be the reproduction of a highly stylized rendering of the murder of Becket taken from the first seal of Arbroath Abbey in Scotland, founded by King William the Lion in 1178 and dedicated by him to Becket. This abbey became the most important foundation in Scotland, and it was here that the Scottish Estates in 1320 declared their independence to the Pope, an event whose anniversary next year will be marked by a special 5d. postage stamp. The other side of the medal will reproduce the Cathedral seal of 1540-41, that is the first post-Reformation seal, showing the Cathedral (still with the Angel Steeple) with Christ Crucified in the doorway and the crenellations of the City Wall surrounding it. Eight hundred numbered and hallmarked sterling silver medals only will be struck, supplied in a handsome box recalling the colours of Becket's own arms in black, red and silver; there is no limit to the striking of the equivalent bronze medal, supplied in a more modest container. The medals will be ready in November, 1969, and if any Friend is interested in purchasing, an order form with details of cost will be found at the end pages of this *Chronicle*. A descriptive leaflet will accompany each medal, signed by the Dean (personally for the silver medals, facsimile for the bronze).

2. In conjunction with Messrs. Pitkin Pictorials Ltd., a special commemorative illustrated booklet will be published around Christmas, 1969, edited by Mr. Michael St. John Parker, a member of the Friends' Council, until recently a History Master at the King's School, now at Winchester College. This will include

articles by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ripon, Professor C. H. Williams, and Mr. Robert Franklin, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, who is working on a definitive biography of Becket, as well as a detailed programme of events. The book will retail at 4/-.

3. Negotiations are taking place with the Spode factory of Messrs. Copeland, which will lead to the production of a fine, specially designed Becket Plate in a limited edition of 800, another collector's piece along the lines of the famous and beautiful Spode plates made for Westminster and Selby Abbeys among many others in recent years.

All the above will be available in due course through Precincts Bookshop Ltd., the Cathedral shop (Manager: Mr. Geoffrey Holland), where a silver Becket teaspoon is already on sale. In addition, Mr. Peter Carpenter is negotiating for the publication of a Souvenir Programme covering next year's major events. We hope to provide for extra sales space and catering facilities in the Precincts throughout the summer.

The Friends

The Friends' place and contribution next year has been deliberately left to this point, so that it may be seen in proper focus and perspective. Friends' Youth Day and Friends' Day next year will fall on Friday, 26th, and Saturday, 27th June. Apart from the customary teas and meeting, the main feature will be an important musical and dramatic event in keeping with the overall plans for next year. The Quem Quaeritis Singers, under the direction of Mr. E. Martin Browne, will perform Three Mediaeval Easter Music Dramas (*two* on Youth Day) in the Quire of the Cathedral, linking up with the services, and using the High Altar as the centre of their stage. These beautiful and simple short religious musical plays have been performed with great acclaim in cathedrals and churches in this country and the U.S.A. It is time they were seen and heard in Canterbury. And it is altogether fitting that Mr. Martin Browne should open and close our Cathedral programme with religious drama ranging from Becket's to our own day, that the strong place of drama in the mediaeval church should see a revival in Canterbury next year, and that the high cost to the Friends of the Easter Music Dramas should be subsidized by the Margaret Babington Fund—she would no doubt be particularly pleased at the event.

The same fund is donating to the Cathedral an attractive and flexible system of gallery furniture for the mounting of exhibitions in the Chapter House (and elsewhere). This will be first used for the projects exhibition of Becket, Canterbury and the Christian World outlined above.

Next year's *Annual Report* will be published earlier than usual to allow *Chronicle* to appear in July, immediately after Professor Knowles' lecture. This will be a bumper number with a specially designed cover and largely devoted to Becket; it promises to be a particularly interesting publication. Contributors include Professor Knowles (text of lecture), Professor Denis Stevens (Becket in music), Dr. William Urry (Becket documents in Canterbury), the Revd. J. W. Parker (Becket wall-paintings), the Revd. D. Ingram Hill (the pilgrims), Monsieur F. Batisse, General Manager of French Railways in London (In the steps of St. Thomas in France), Abbé Leviste, Keeper of the Treasures at Sens Cathedral (Becket in Sens and Pontigny), Mr. Michael St. John Parker (book reviews), and the present writer (aspects of Becket cult and lore). There will also be articles by Dr. Roy Strong, Director of the National Portrait Gallery, on the portraits in the Deanery; and by a member of the Canterbury Society on the Buchanan Report for Canterbury.

Although advance booking will not open till January, 1970, we plan to allow Friends priority in time as far as Cathedral events are concerned: that is to say, between November and the official opening of booking, reservations will be made for Friends sending in their requirements on the official booking form; after the official opening date *all* applications will be handled by the central booking office in the order in which they are received. It will be appreciated that full details cannot be given here, but these will be available in the detailed programme with bookings application form that will be published later. Any Friend who wishes to receive this brochure on its publication is urgently advised to send either the tear-off portion of the present preliminary brochure now circulating, appropriately completed and stamped, or else a foolscap size (no smaller, please!) envelope, correctly stamped and self-addressed, to the Friends Office in Canterbury.

I end this portion of this article with an excuse and a plea. I apologise for the length of the piece, for which the excuse is that I felt sure Friends would rather have the fullest information available at this point, rather than tantalizingly brief notes—particularly if they are overseas and have careful plans to lay for next year—in the hope of whetting their appetites to visit and make a pilgrimage to Canterbury next year. For pilgrims, their tours and prayers will not be forgotten in 1970. My plea is for help in due course. There are many ways in which this can be done, and I hope to be more specific by the time the Report appears next spring: with accommodation, stewarding, ushering, programme selling, booking and ticket information (the Friends office will become such an information centre next year), manning exhibitions, distribution of publicity material, and so on. There is one valuable thing we can all do now: spread the word of Canterbury's exciting year far and wide among all we know and meet.

Other Events

Finally, a brief outline of other events in and around the Cathedral, as known at present:—

Saturday, 14th February, Glasgow University Chapel Choir, concert.

Saturday, 21st February, Christ Church College, Canterbury, concert.

Saturday, 21st March, Canterbury Choral Society, concert.

Thursday, 23rd April, British Empire Cancer Campaign for Research, concert.

Saturday, 2nd May, Benenden School and the King's School, Brahms' *Requiem* (in the Quire with organ accompaniment).

Saturday, 9th May, Kent Music School, concert.

Thursday, 14th to Saturday, 16th May, Canterbury Dramatic Society, play (Chapter House).

Saturday, 30th May, the Salvation Army, Cambridge Heath Band, choral group and soloist, Festival of Praise and Thanksgiving.

Thursday, 4th June, Canterbury Singers, concert (Chapter House).

Wednesday, 17th June, Stour Music, concert (Chapter House).

Thursday, 9th to Wednesday, 15th July, King's Week.

Saturday, 25th July, Canterbury Choral Society, Verdi's *Requiem*.

Saturday, 15th to Wednesday, 26th August, Services will be sung by a visiting choir from the Royal School of Church Music.

Friday, 20th and Saturday, 21st November, augmented choirs from St. Thomas's Church and School in Canterbury, a new dramatic cantata on Becket (Western Crypt).

Friday, 27th and Saturday, 28th November, Simon Langton Boys' School, *Pilgrimage*, a programme of words and music by David Starsmeare and Ed Cowie (Chapter House).

Sunday, 29th November, King's School Carol Service.

First half of December, St. Thomas's Hospital Music Society, concert.

Saturday, 5th December, Canterbury Choral Society, concert.

Wednesday, 23rd December, Canterbury Choral Society Carol Service.

REVIEW

by G. S. Darlow

Donors of books to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. By A. B. Emden. Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1968. viii, 46 pp., 5 plates.

The monastic libraries of the middle ages, in this country and elsewhere, depended heavily on donations of books. This is proved by the evidence of the catalogues that have come down to us, in which the donor's name is frequently used as an identifier. It was certainly, almost to the end, a more prolific source of acquisition than either purchase or home production, in this country at least. The reading of books was an article of the Benedictine Rule, and as property was communally, not privately, held by the members of a house, books that came the way of one of the monks were presented, sooner or later, to the library.

The chief historian of the medieval library was M. R. James, and the booklet at present under review is designed to fill a gap left by James in his survey of the St. Augustine's library.[1] James provided a copious index of donors' names, but maintained that it was impossible to identify them as individuals. This somewhat pessimistic view is challenged by Dr. Emden, drawing on his unrivalled knowledge of the lives of medieval men of learning in this country. By burrowing into the Archbishops' registers, the Register[2] and Customary[3] of St. Augustine's Abbey, and William Thorne's chronicle,[4] he has succeeded in unearthing at least one biographical item for more than sixty per cent of the known donors. This useful contribution to our knowledge of medieval learning has an interest of its own as an account of some of the St. Augustine's scholars, although its main function is that of an *addendum* and *corrigendum* to James' work, to which Dr. Emden rightly pays a handsome tribute.

Any attempt to trace the history of the library will always be hampered by the shortage of original records, in comparison with its great neighbour, Christ Church. One almost complete catalogue has, however, survived in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It was transcribed and printed by James for his book, and ascribed by him to the last decade of the 15th century. All authorities are agreed that it is not quite complete, but it is large for its date, containing 1,837 titles; not, however, as large as Christ Church, where the catalogue of Prior Eastry contained as many titles 150 years earlier.

Otherwise all our information about the St. Augustine's library derives from brief references in documents about the Abbey in general. A serious fire occurred in 1168, and while the extent of the destruction is not known, most of the records must have perished. All the donors recorded in the catalogue and identified by Dr. Emden are of a later period. King Athelstan, noted as a benefactor of abbeys, is known to have given books, but his gifts are not recorded as such in the catalogue; the only known survivor, a copy of Isidore, *de naturis rerum*, is not entered in the catalogue, and the only evidence we have that it was still at St. Augustine's at the time of the fire is the negative one, that the copy bears no other medieval press-marks. Dr. Neil Ker[5] has identified from internal evidence 83 manuscripts once in the library and now in other collections, that do not appear in the 15th century catalogue; including those in the catalogue, he has seen 271 undoubted survivors, which is a comparatively large number. In all, about one-fifth of these are pre-twelfth century. In most cases, however, the dates of accession to the library cannot be deduced; two of them have donors recorded, and these, of course, came to the library after the fire; five others are late additions to the catalogue, and about one-third are not in the catalogue at all. Dr. Emden is perhaps not entirely justified in his tentative suggestion that the wealth of early manuscripts proves that not many books perished in the fire.

In his biographical notes, Dr. Emden has made some useful identifications, both of monks and of secular donors, and offers a sounder conjecture to correct James's guess at John of London, one of the chief benefactors. He has found one choice titbit in the Close Rolls; a certain Peter de Dene, who sought the cloister in the early 14th century as a refuge from dangerous political affiliations, tried to escape after some years, and was eventually resigned to the monastic life; but was later accused, perhaps falsely, of a considerable theft from the Abbot's treasure chest. He was forgiven, and died a revered benefactor. One would like to know more about this frame-up; the Abbot, incidentally, was the library's greatest friend, Thomas Fyndon.

Dr. Emden finishes with some notes about the dispersal, which was, according to Dr. Ker, more widespread than most; doubtless Henry VIII acquired his due share, but 47 different owners are in Dr. Ker's list. The end of Canterbury as a centre of learning was not the least of its regrets at the Dissolution. As a source of books it must have been outdone, among the towns of England, only by Oxford and Cambridge, although there is, in fact, no evidence that the Abbey fostered advanced studies. With the foundation of a university here, the chance has come again.

Notes

1. *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover.* M. R. James. Cambridge University Press, 1903. v. esp. p. lvi.
2. *The Register of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, commonly called the Black Book*. Edited by C. J. Turner and H. E. Salter. 2 vols. Oxford University Press, 1915-24.
3. *The Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and St. Peter's, Westminster.* Edited by Sir E. Maunde Thompson. Vol. I. (Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. 23), 1902.
4. *William Thorne's Chronicle of St. Augustine's Abbey*, now rendered into English by A. H. Davis. Blackwell, 1934.
5. N. R. Ker. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of Surviving Books.* 2nd edition. Royal Historical Society, 1964. pp. 40-47.

REVIEW

by R. A. Foakes

E. Martin Browne. *The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays.* Cambridge University Press. 55/-.

No-one but Martin Browne could have written this book. He acted, in his own words, "as midwife" to each of T. S. Eliot's plays in turn, allaying the birth-pangs, and helping to mould and tidy up each as it was delivered. He draws on a diary, on a substantial correspondence, and has used numerous early drafts and synopses of the plays in describing the process by which each of these developed and was staged; but the real strength of the book stems from Mr. Browne's experience in the theatre and his long and close friendship with the poet-dramatist.

In one aspect the book is the record of a relationship and an act of homage to T. S. Eliot. The picture of him that emerges here is charming, as a man modest, courteous, and always ready to listen to advice from those more experienced than himself in the theatre. It seems that each of his plays was shaped after long and sometimes difficult reworking and rethinking, and he often sought the solution of a problem of structure, character, or technique in the counsel of the men who helped to bring his plays into performance, like Rupert Doone, Henry Sherek, and especially Martin Browne. He was fortunate indeed in having such advisers to steer him out of many a difficulty or error. At the same time, it is clear that he brought his own sharp and independent judgment continually to bear on the advice he received, and the end result was always his own choice.

In describing the development of the text of each play, Mr. Browne also gives the critic and scholar an opportunity to compare the many passages he prints from drafts and early versions with the plays as finally published. This material is least interesting in relation to *Murder in the Cathedral*, which was printed in a special edition for the Canterbury Festival in 1935, and much revised in later editions. *The Family Reunion* was also published at the same time as it was first produced, but thereafter T. S. Eliot waited until after the production had begun, so that he could incorporate revisions in the printed text. In fact, Mr. Browne has a great deal to present from manuscripts relating to *The Family Reunion* and the later plays, and the interested reader will need to keep a copy of *The Collected Plays* by him in order to make comparisons with the final versions. One general point of importance emerges, that in all the plays the opening scene, once written, remained virtually unaltered: "It seems", says Mr. Browne, "as if the opening of each play came to Eliot along with its framework, and that to write this was the necessary way to establish the pattern of characters whose lives would provide the action."

Although it will be for the scholars to work in detail on the texts of the plays, Mr. Browne's quotations and comments throw some fascinating side-lights upon the dramatist and on the plays. So T. S. Eliot is to be found pondering on details which must at the time have seemed important, but in retrospect seem almost silly; an example is the query in a draft of *The Family Reunion* as to whether the Eumenides should wear black or white ties. As the play developed, he came to realise that these figures were best not seen at all. By contrast, important and suggestive details were sometimes buried or cancelled in accordance with the demands of relevance or artistic integrity, like the early titles "Vernal Equinox" (*The Family Reunion*) or "One-eyed Reilly" (*The Cocktail Party*).

A third, and perhaps the most important, thread in the book is the intimate and detailed record it provides of the presentation and success of the plays on the stage. Readers attached to Canterbury will be especially interested in the account of the staging of *Murder in the Cathedral*, which includes much information about the progress of rehearsals, costuming, and the problems of dealing with the chorus in the play. On all the plays Mr. Bowne's commentary ranges from the initial problems of casting and production through to the response of the reviewers to the finished work. One or two reviewers remained hostile, but most were won over to acclaim T. S. Eliot as a leading dramatist. *The Cocktail Party*, which ran for several hundred performances, brought him financial returns, too, so that Sagittarius in the *New Statesman* could begin his verse review thus:

"This is the vulgarest success, blasting
A hitherto immaculate reputation."

The remote and exalted poet had become a popular dramatist.

A little later, after the production of *The Confidential Clerk* in 1953, W. A. Darlington in the *Daily Telegraph* wrote: "Eliot . . . is now by common consent the most important contemporary writer for the English-speaking stage". He could not know that in a very short time the arrival of plays by Ionesco (*The Lesson*, 1955), and Beckett (*Waiting for Godot*, 1955) on the London stage, the visit of the Berliner Ensemble (1956), and the eruption of Osborne's *Look Back in Anger* (1956), were to make this sentence ring hollow. However, it was true enough when written, and only now perhaps is it possible to see T. S. Eliot's dramatic achievement in perspective. Mr. Browne allows himself a few pages as a critic finally, and as elsewhere in his book he is genially informative, so now he shows admirable good sense, in recognising the best of Eliot's drama in *Murder in the Cathedral* and *The Family Reunion*. He finds the later plays thinner, and says, sharply and well, "while he was working successfully to free his dramatic verse from the exhausted post-Shakespearian form, he was submitting his dramatic form to the same kind of constriction".

RECENT BOOKS

by M. St. John Parker

Three books which are all, in widely different ways, likely to be of interest to Friends of the Cathedral, have recently appeared in the bookshops. The first, Richard Church's *Portrait of Canterbury* (Hutchinson, 50/-), is in fact technically a reappearance, since it first came out in 1953; but the new edition (1968) has been revised by the author, and enormously enhanced by the addition of a large number of line and wash illustrations by John Sergeant.

Mr. Church's account of Canterbury runs along familiar lines. It stands squarely in the centre of the English school of sentimental topography, which is characteristically based on a rather loose historical foundation, constructed in a somewhat mannered narrative style, and adorned with frequent patches of local colour, "imaginative reconstructions", and philosophical reflections of a distinctly purple tinge.

As history, and even as an account of facts, the book is outdated, unbalanced and unreliable; for instance the author believes (page 157) that only two representations of Becket survived the Reformation in England. On the other hand, his sensitive perception, illuminated by a nostalgic affection for the city, does much to compensate for such technical shortcomings.

In the belief that places, as well as people, have characters of their own, Mr. Church devotes space to a series of word-pictures evoking the character of Canterbury as he sees it at various times in the earlier history of the city. His concentration seems to have wavered, however, when he came to the end of the Middle Ages; the period from the sixteenth century onwards is treated briefly and scrappily, deteriorating ultimately into a succession of mechanical biographies. In skating over the more recent centuries, it must be admitted, he merely reflects a bias which is all too common in books about Canterbury; and it is true, of course, that the city was largely shaped by the prosperity of the pilgrimage period. For 50/-, however, and in a book which the publishers describe glowingly as "a gift book second to none", one might reasonably expect a rather more conscientious attempt to achieve a genuinely rounded treatment. By the same token, a production of this sort ought to be free from the elementary slips and typographical errors which disfigure more than one page.

There need be no reservations, however, about Mr. Sergeant's illustrations. Economical and allusive, they are nonetheless rich in feeling, and their spare elegance is often more telling than the somewhat self-conscious charm of the text they are called upon to adorn. The drawings, in fact, do much to make this somewhat imperfect work into a genuinely desirable presentation volume, which will doubtless appear on many Canterbury coffee-tables.

Another coffee-table book, but this time one whose virtue resides almost entirely in its illustrations, and hardly at all in its text, is *The Horizon Book of Great Cathedrals* (Hamish Hamilton, 5 gns.). Forty-three of the cathedrals of France, England, Germany, Spain and Italy are described in photographs and, in some cases, reproductions of drawings, prints and paintings. Some 50 of the illustrations are in colour, of varying quality; the black-and-white work likewise lacks consistency—some is brilliant, some pretentious, and some very mediocre. Anyone looking for an account of his or her favourite cathedral is almost sure to be disappointed, since none is given more than the most sketchy treatment. This is still more true of the gazetteer which covers 30 pages and 100 more cathedrals in a series of almost unillustrated notes at the end of the book—an appendix utterly useless alike for entertainment and for information.

All the same, it is true that a general impression does emerge of what Zoe Oldenbourg, in her readable introduction, calls the Civilisation of the Cathedrals. These buildings are so stupendous, so irrelevant to our own habits of thought, that we can hardly find room for them either in our minds or in our church system. The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral are loyal, devoted and generous in their support for the great church which they admire; but their attachment cannot stand comparison with the fiery enthusiasm that first conceived and raised the mighty choir, the stately nave, or the soaring serenity of Bell Harry tower.

This enthusiasm, compounded of religious fanaticism, frantic pride, and communal spirit, lies so deep at the heart of mediaeval civilisation that it is nothing less than exasperating to find it treated in the text of this book (the introduction excepted) with the banal superficiality characteristic of American magazine writing. It is unrealistic to expect more, perhaps, in a coffee-table volume; still, when the theme is so grand, and the visual content so exalting, the predictable fatuity of the commentary, with its errors, its contradictions and its appalling omissions, is extraordinarily irritating.

The phrasing is frequently memorable in its idiocy—there are riches here for the malicious collector of Americana ("so many cathedrals were named for the Virgin that 'Notre Dame', like 'Kleenex', became something very like a generic term": "one of the three kings . . . tips his crown": and, perhaps best of all, "John Ruskin . . . was one of the nineteenth century's most enthusiastic cathedral buffs".) The persistently journalistic approach is more irksome, with the interminable repetition of gambits such as "It all began one night in 813 . . . ". But the depths are perhaps most decisively plumbed by the bland statement, which occurs in the pompously titled 'Portfolio of Cathedral Construction', to the effect that "In France, where most cathedrals were built within towns or villages, the structures rose higher and narrower than they did in England, where they were erected in the country, surrounded by parks." Perhaps the quotation may stand as the epitome of this eminently meretricious 5 guineas' worth.

There is nothing in the least meretricious, however, about the last of the three publications to be noticed here. The Revd. Derek Ingram Hill, a well-known figure in the city, has written a monograph for the Canterbury Archaeological Society on *The Ancient Hospitals and Almshouses of Canterbury*, and this has now been published as the Society's Occasional Paper, No. 6 (Price 5/-). The author is himself, of course, Master of the city's most notable foundation of this sort, the Eastbridge Hospital. His sympathetic understanding of the charitable work of such institutions enlivens the meticulous precision with which he describes the eight old foundations which still remain, and a variety of others, either extinct or modern. Their origins and history are succinctly traced; their buildings and important possessions are outlined; and their present function and manner of government are summarised. (It is, incidentally, heartening to observe that all save one of the city's ancient almshouses have now carried out very extensive reforms, involving reconstruction and modernisation work, to fit them for twentieth century conditions.)

This is the sort of research which, carried on by devoted souls in innumerable localities, eventually makes possible the glamorous books of the national historians. Many such monographs, it has to be admitted, though worthy are also dreary; but this is eminently readable, attractively produced and admirably illustrated. Fr. Ingram Hill and the Archaeological Society are to be congratulated on a most worthwhile achievement.

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CONTENTS

PAGE

PATRONS, PRESIDENT AND OFFICERS OF COUNCIL 2

EDITORIAL 3

ST. GABRIEL'S CHAPEL, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, by Eve Baker 4

EMBROIDERY—A VISUAL ART, IN THE CHURCH OF TODAY, by Beryl Dean 8

SACRED GEOMETRY, by Colin Dudley 17

THE GLAZIER AS MUSICIAN, by Lawrence Lee 33

A ROMANESQUE CASKET FROM CANTERBURY IN FLORENCE, by George Zarnecki 37

SOME VISITORS TO CANTERBURY, by Olive Stephens 44

CANTERBURY, 1970—THE THOMAS BECKET ANNIVERSARY, by Gerald Peacocke 48

REVIEW, by G. S. Darlow 58

REVIEW, by R. A. Foakes 60

RECENT BOOKS, by M. St. John Parker 62

CHRISTMAS CARDS 65

BECKET MEDAL 1970 67

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St Thomas Becket

Canterbury Cathedral

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EDITORIAL

The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral are making important contributions to the 1970 Commemoration of the eighth centenary of the death of St. Thomas Becket, of which this edition of the *Chronicle* is one. The Dean and Chapter is grateful to the Friends for their constant readiness to assist the Cathedral in the primary task of preserving its beauty and historic buildings, but also in the support which they give to artistic activities centred on the Cathedral, such as this year's commemoration.

This edition of the *Chronicle* is marked, not only by a larger number of articles than usual, but also by the distinction of its contributors and the wide spectrum of scholarly and artistic knowledge which they represent. First, we have the privilege of printing the article by the Revd. David Knowles, O.S.B., whose position in the world of English medieval scholarship is unassailable and unique. We are grateful to him for providing his important lecture in the Cathedral, and for permitting us to reprint it in the *Chronicle*. In view of the particular way in which the Becket story links France with Canterbury it is gratifying to have two articles by French authors, the Revd. Jacques Leviste and Monsieur F. A. Batisse. Their collaboration has been warmly welcomed and equally warmly given. To them, as to each of our contributors, we express our most sincere thanks. Their various distinctions are listed under the heading dealing with our authors.

Not every article is about Becket, even though he provides the main theme. We owe special thanks to Dr. Roy Strong of the National Portrait Gallery for his article about the portraits in the Deanery, and to Mr. Kenneth Pinnock for writing about the Buchanan traffic plans for Canterbury. These subjects will, we think, appeal to readers interested in the Cathedral, and will provide some desirable variety in the subject matter. We are much indebted to the Marc Fitch Fund, as we were in the 1969 *Chronicle*, for generous grants towards the cost of illustrations. The cover has been specially designed by Mr. Roy Chambers, of the Canterbury College of Art, to whom we are much indebted.

I should not wish to lower the tone by introducing too commercial a note, but perhaps I may be permitted to add that the production of a *Chronicle* of this size and variety has only been possible because we hope to sell a large number to the general public. Had we not been able to envisage such a sale, the expenses of producing the *Chronicle* could not be justified out of the limited revenue of the Friends. May I therefore ask that those who have the opportunity should encourage their friends and acquaintances to buy copies of this number of the *Chronicle*, which may even encourage them to join the Friends as members, and thus increase the resources which are available for the vital work which the Friends do so much to encourage and support.

This edition of the *Chronicle* must not go out without a tribute to Mr. Gerald Peacocke, who has been Acting Steward for 1969 and 1970. He has done almost all the work involved in arranging for this number of the *Chronicle,* as well as writing an article in it himself. His work for the Friends has been of great value and will continue to influence us after he has left at the end of 1970 to take up an appointment as Joint Headmaster of Betteshanger School. This Editorial gives me the oportunity of expressing my own sincere thanks to him, and in doing so I am sure that I express the thanks of the Friends, for all that he has done for us. His main labours of managing the 1970 Becket Commemoration for the Dean and Chapter cannot have a greater tribute than the programme itself and the admirable organisation of its events.

HERBERT WADDAMS.

ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET—THE SAINT

by David Knowles

Editor's Note : *This article forms the basis of the text of Professor The Reverend David Knowles's lecture delivered in Canterbury Cathedral on the Feast of the Translation, July 7, 1970.*

The title of this lecture should logically have been followed by a question-mark. Thomas Becket has been a canonised saint for 797 years, there is therefore no doubt of his being a saint, that is, one considered by the church as deserving of particular honour and as a member of the church triumphant in heaven who may make real the communion of saints to those who use his name in petitions to God. But there is another, and a slightly different, use of the word saint. We use it to imply that someone, whether alive or dead, bears clearly the marks of one whose life is to some undefined extent an outstanding example of Christian perfection. This is in some cases clear to all with any moral or religious sensibility. St. Francis of Assisi, for example, would be on almost everybody's list, as would also, for those who had read his life or seen the impressive film story, St Vincent of Paul. In England, the Venerable Bede could scarcely be failed by any competent examiner, and in the seventeenth century 'saintly' is an almost inseparable adjective for Bishop Ken. Indeed, almost all the canonised saints of the modern church and many others not so distinguished would be given at least pass marks by any conscientious examiner who accepted the rules of the examination.

But with St Thomas this cannot be said without qualification. Many, perhaps the majority, of those who have written of him have had hard things to say about his conduct, even after his 'conversion', while others, even among those who accept the justice of his cause, have felt that many of his words and actions were either blameworthy or at least not saintly. Many have suggested that

. . . . 'nothing in his life
Became him like the leaving of it,'

and that it is the martyr, not the saint, whom we honour. Some feel uneasy about his martyrdom. Was it precisely for Christ and his church that he died ? Was his death no more than a brave act of desperation, or even of ambition ? And shall we say that the judgment of Henry VIII that he was a malignant traitor and a bogus saint tells against him or in his favour ?

In other words, we may say that it is at least debatable whether Thomas Becket was a saint when alive and a martyr in death. I will confess that, after more than twenty years of fairly close study and reflection, I am fairly certain that he was a martyr, and still doubtful whether he was a saint in life. That is perhaps a strange, if not arrogant, judgment, in this place and in this festival, but a historian, like the devil's advocate in a canonisation process, may use methodical doubt as a means of getting at the truth. That is the principal reason why, when honoured by the invitation to deliver this lecture, I chose a topic which posed a real question to me, and perhaps to some of my audience. In all sincerity, as I wrote these words before beginning my own examination, I did not know what my answer would be. You may think this an extraordinary position for one who has read the sources again and again. Yet the life and death of Thomas are so tangled up with political, papal and legal history, and the sources are so abundant and represent so many different view-points that it is very easy, when trying to follow the main thread, or to isolate various themes, to skip over or to ignore what seem to be pious platitudes, or to miss a word or small revealing incident. It is for these that we must be prepared to look.

First of all, we must define a saint and a martyr. By a saint I understand one who, for at least part, and that the last part, of his life, has shown to those who had eyes to see Christian virtues—aspects of human goodness, that is, seen in the life and teaching of Christ—present in an unusual degree of clarity and power. Above all must come a personal love of Christ and a truly unselfish love of others. In a modern process of canonisation the principal Christian virtues are required to exist together in a heroic degree—that is to a degree which, regarded over the whole spectrum of virtues, seems to surpass what purely human experience would consider morally possible. As for a martyr, he must be shown (in our context) to have died in and for either the faith of Christ or in defence of the spiritual principles and institutions of Christianity.

But, it may be said, was not all this argued out before St Thomas was canonised ? The answer is, it was not. Canonisation before the twelfth century had been achieved either by clear martyrdom, or, in western Europe during and shortly after its conversion, by popular veneration, or by the express pronouncement of a bishop, usually of a leading see, and particularly of the see of Rome. Only in the great epoch of papal reform and centralisation did it become usual for canonisation to become a papal act (which alone could affect the whole church) and in fact it was Alexander III himself who defined the process which became canonical. Among the first of these official canonisations was that of St Bernard (1174), and in his case and in those later of the English saints Wulfstan of Worcester and Gilbert of Sempringham we can see the whole process : official lives, records and reminiscences (if available), followed by a select list of alleged miracles with their witnesses. For martyrs the established fact of genuine martyrdom was sufficient, though miracles were usually available in support. The case of St Thomas was exceptional. The subject was a man who in one role or another had held the attention of western Europe for fifteen years. He had appealed to the pope, and Alexander had been his sincere if cautious supporter for six years. He had been butchered in his cathedral by a group of knights. The outbreak of miracles had been instantaneous and lasting. Alexander, who undoubtedly felt some remorse for his hesitant policy, could scarcely have resisted even had he wished. There was no need for biographies, though they were in fact being written, and witnesses to a hundred wonders could be had for the asking. The pope sent two cardinals to Canterbury to consider evidence, and on their report canonised St Thomas on 12 March, 1173.

The sources for the life of Thomas Becket are very copious, especially for his last eight years. Of medieval saints only St. Bernard has such a mass of material. Besides ten biographies, four of them long, there are three volumes of letters in the Rolls Series and many other incidental documents in the letters of John of Salisbury, Gilbert Foliot, archbishop Theobald and others. All these have constantly to be checked against each other and against other authorities. On the other hand all these documents are authentic and contemporary, written by men of ability and sincerity, some of them friends and officials of Thomas. Writing as friends of a martyr, they are naturally his admirers and in some respects apologists, but they were writing in and for their world and in the lifetime of King Henry II, when Thomas's erstwhile opponents were now in high place. Moreover, with their hero safely canonised (for almost all the lives were completed after March 1173) and miracles no longer needed to speed his cause, they had no need to overplay their hand. The purely laudatory or pious paragraphs can be separated fairly easily from the rest.

Before disucssing Thomas's sanctity we must have some conception of the prevalent dress worn by piety in his day. The beauty of holiness may be as visible in a Scottish Covenanter as in a Spanish Jesuit, but in both cases there may be a veil of contemporary taste and custom unfamiliar to us and possibly repulsive. The lifetime of St Thomas was passed in the later generations of a vast movement of fervour and reform. This reform had its rise in a society in which monks had for centuries been the reservoir of spiritual life, and it was largely inspired and diffused by monks. In the epoch that ended with the death of St Bernard (1153) a succession of preachers, writers, abbots, bishops, cardinals and popes had pushed forward a moral and institutional reform, and Europe, including England, had been overrun by the new monastic orders. Leaders of notable sanctity had been numerous, in England as elsewhere. While Thomas was archbishop Aelred of Rievaulx and Gilbert of Sempringham were active, and both were known to him, while all over Europe the example of St Bernard was clear to all. In all these what may be called monastic piety was the foundation of their life. Externally, that consisted of long liturgical prayers, an austere régime of diet with frequent fasts, and bodily penances both in the daily life of the monastery and as voluntary exercises. Most of the saints already mentioned added to their regular stint bodily penances such as hairshirts, scourging and immersion in cold water. Such were the accepted practices, however little they may appeal to us, and they were the models that Thomas had before his eyes.

We can now consider Thomas Becket as he appears in four phases of his life : his youth till 24 or so (1118-1143/4) ; his service in Theobald's household (1143/4-1154) ; his chancellorship (1154-62) ; and his pontificate (1162-1170).

He was brought up in London by a well-to-do father and a devout mother, both of them Normans from near Rouen. His mother, so he told Herbert of Bosham, inspired in him a devotion to the Blessed Virgin, which he preserved throughout life. When he was a baby, we are told she used to weigh him and give the equivalent of weight in food and other necessaries to the poor. Apart from one or two prophetic utterances and a quasi-miraculous escape from death by drowning, his life as described to us is that of any other boy. He was sent, when still a child, to the newly founded priory of Austin canons at Merton, then in the country some seven miles from London and Southwark. Here he would have been one of the children of the cloister, following the liturgical round of the canons in all except the night offices, acting as choirboys and servers at Mass. In return, they were taught to read and write, understand the service-books, and take their turn in reading to their companions the Bible and devotional books. Merton, founded 1114-17, only some seven years before Thomas arrived, was a fervent house with distinguished inmates, several of whom became priors of the half-dozen foundations made from Merton within a short space. The boy did not forget his first masters. As chancellor he contributed generously to the building of the eastern end of the church, and visited the priory for the liturgy of Holy Week. When consecrated archbishop, he went there to be clothed with the canons' habit, and for long, indeed for the whole of his episcopate, Robert, a canon of Merton, attended him as confessor and spiritual adviser. He was present, as we shall see, at the Council of Northampton, and was with the archbishop in his last days at Canterbury. Thomas left Merton at ten or twelve years old, and for some years attended school in London, possibly St. Paul's, though there were several others. Here he would still have been counselled and helped by his mother. Then came several years at Paris and Auxerre, of which unfortunately nothing whatever is known. His return home was followed by his mother's death, which affected him deeply and permanently. She was the only woman whose love he had experienced and returned. Of his three sisters, two married and one became a nun at Barking. There is no suggestion that they had any significant part in his religious or emotional development. His mother alone had encouraged his studies. When she had gone he took to more congenial pursuits, befriended by Richard de l'Aigle, a baron with lands in Kent and a frequent guest of his father. With him he rode, hawked and hunted, perhaps during holidays from his service as confidential clerk to Osbern Huitdeniers, a leading city magnate. It was now that his adult character appeared. Capable and versatile, he was a favourite with all. Several of his biographers underline both his lavish generosity and his extreme desire for popularity, which led him to hide his real personality. They are unanimous, citing their witnesses, that he never lost his chastity, but three of them remark that he followed the fashions of his companions in the use of emotional language and affectionate caresses. City life did not satisfy him, and it seems certain that not only ambition but also a real desire for the service of God led him to visit archbishop Theobald, a friend of his father, with a request to enter his household.

The Canterbury *familia*, under the constant eye of the devout ex-abbot of Bec, must have had something of the routine of a religious community, though many of his clerks were neither priests nor deacons. All looked forward to high and lucrative church office, and several were already pluralists and absentee provosts or rectors, for the archbishop had considerable patronage, much of which he used to provide income for his distinguished and promising dependents. It seems clear that during his long service under Theobald, which took him to Rome and elsewhere as Theobald's representative, Thomas aimed at the successful career in the church that awaited all Theobald's young men, and he accepted all the plums that came his way. The last of these was the archdeaconry of Canterbury, which ranked as the most distinguished office in the English church after the bishoprics and a few great abbacies. This promotion came only a few months before King Stephen's death, and, shortly after, Theobald recommended him to Henry II for the chancellorship. He accepted it without demur and soon became, at the age of thirty-six, the most powerful man in the kingdom. Theobald had proposed him in the hope that he would protect the church against attacks on her rights and property by the king and his ministers. He had partially misread Thomas's character. He who as a young man had dissembled his piety, as a servant of Theobald had hidden his ambition. It says much for his biographers that they make no attempt to exaggerate either his virtues or his failings in his early life. Now, in a situation of extreme difficulty, but full of opportunity and rewards, he could expand. Both he and Henry had genius and charm, and each of them in those days gave and received affection and support. Thomas, for the first time in his life, could use his extraordinary gifts of energy and efficiency to the full, and enjoy to the full the tastes and sports that he loved. He could also display his many social gifts and his capacity for loyalty towards a king younger than himself by a dozen years. Henry, for his part, found in Thomas an obedient servant of immense ability and mental agility, who could give him a richer life than his leading barons and industrious ministers could do. Each delighted in the other's company as, almost four hundred years later, another Henry was to delight in the company of another Chancellor Thomas.

There can be no doubt that the chancellor recklessly indulged all his tastes. He was still a deacon, not a priest, but much of what he did was unpardonable in one who still clung to office as archdeacon of Canterbury. Rich clothes, rich plate, expensive food, hawks, hounds, horses and chess (that disreputable game), servants and clerks galore, extravagance of every kind, and displays of magnificence that outshone the king's. 'Generous to a fault', wrote Herbert of Bosham, 'before all and above all he appeared magnificent; great of heart, great in physical stature, and great in personal presence.' Everything about him was on the large scale, and he went on his way surrounded by a company of his young wards including the king's son, the admired of all his admirers.

This was not the behaviour that grave churchmen expected of an archdeacon, but even this was not all. Thomas lent himself to the king's wishes where they conflicted with principles for which Theobald and the Gregorian reformers had steadfastly fought. As chancellor he had charge of the estates of vacant sees and abbeys. Contrary to ancient English custom and church law, he used the revenues for his own and for government expenses; he made no endeavour to speed up an appointment or to ensure that an election was canonical. Worse still, he organised armies and led his own crack regiment in the war of Toulouse. His men ravaged the countryside and killed innocent people. He himself in full armour fought at their head, and unhorsed with his lance a noted French warrior in a mounted duel. He was the king's *alter ego;* no subject had ever handled in person so many of the levers of power, and no other was to do so before Wolsey.

Yet even now he had a second, hidden, life. He spent Holy Week at Merton, and on Good Friday went disguised from church to church in prayer. One acquaintance told how he had seen a grey figure in the early dawn prostrate at a church door and found with surprise who it was. Another discovered him overcome with sleep in a posture of prayer in his bedchamber. He received regular penitential scourgings. All agree that his life remained absolutely chaste despite the attempts of Henry and an ex-mistress of the king to seduce him. All this is far from adding up to sanctity, but it shows one who was torn between the demands of a brilliantly worldly career and the sense that this was not the life that his conscience approved. Nor did Theobald approve, but the chancellor ignored his requests and finally refused to visit the deathbed of his old master and benefactor when Theobald implored him to do so. This, for us, is perhaps the clearest sign of his spiritual failing. Such was the man whom Henry chose to succeed Theobald as archbishop.

His election and consecration marked the complete conversion of the worldly chancellor into the austere archbishop. It has been fashionable among historians of this century—Lady Stenton, Zachary Brooke and Austin Lane Poole among others—to present Thomas Becket as playing a part, both as chancellor and archbishop. Some of these historians, notably Brooke, disclaim any suggestion of insincerity, but if the metaphor means anything, it must at least suggest that in both offices, especially the archbishop's, Thomas acted, not as his intelligence and conscience suggested in face of the concrete situation, but in harmony with a previously established conception of how a model archbishop should act. It is as if an English premier should act in face, let us say, of the Suez crisis, not as a statesman who was representative and trustee of his country, but as he conceived that a Napoleon or a Churchill had acted in other situations. It is simpler and more realistic to accept the evidence of the events themselves and of contemporaries. These were unanimous that Thomas turned from a worldly life to a truly spiritual life, and they were surely right. But the conversion, though real, was dramatic only on the surface. Thomas, the lonely parvenu, conscious of his great talents, anxious to please his world and his king, and as yet without the inner strength to be true to his own deepest conviction, had won his way by being all things to all men. Now at last, without having stirred a finger for it, he was given high spiritual office, and he knew that now or never he must give himself absolutely to the service of God. His manner of doing this was conditioned by his racial character and his personal tendency towards the magnificent and the spectacular ; it was conditioned also by his sense of regret and shame for his earlier refusals to see the light. Converts often tend to over-compensate. But his conversion was a spiritual leap forward ; it was not, this time, the adoption of the standards and wishes of others. The two most intimate biographers of the archbishop, writing independently, say the same thing. 'He left the world,' writes William FitzStephen, 'he was changed by the hand of the Highest, so suddenly that all wondered.' 'He struck the old man,' says Herbert, 'he threw him off, he drove him away so that not a trace of him remained.' All the other biographers, including the cool and critical John of Salisbury, agree. But Herbert, as we shall see, was exaggerating. Traces of the old man remained with Thomas to the end, but the change of aim and intent was decisive and complete.

In what follows we shall need to look at actions which to us may be distasteful. The modern world, and in particular its self-styled progressive element, has no liking for sacrifices, for penitence, and for bodily penances. A school of modern psychology denies an ethical value to a sense of guilt or sin, and sees all voluntary acts of penance as instances of self-torture by weak natures unable to face the real world. Speaking in this cathedral where the Scriptures are read daily, and prayers for forgiveness recited, there is no need to proclaim the reality of sin. But we may well feel that a contrite and humble heart may find expression in ways other than hairshirts and scourges. Yet I would make bold to say that there has been no Christian saint of any confession who has not willingly and even voluntarily accepted physical hardship and privation either in atonement for his own faults or (in the words of St Paul) to fill up the sufferings of Christ. Our task as historians is to say what was done and to judge it in the climate of the day, indeed, but also by the standards of Christian endeavour.

Herbert of Bosham, the constant companion of the archbishop from his election till a few days before his death, gives us, at great length, a sketch of Thomas's daily rule of life. He rose in the small hours and said Mass. This, out of reverence, he did not do every day, but frequently. He then washed the feet of thirteen monks (no doubt between their night office and Lauds) bestowing alms on each, which they would pass on to the poor. Later in the day thirteen poor men were washed by the almoner who gave to each a supply of food at the archbishop's expense. Later still, one hundred regular almsmen were given dinner by the archbishop. He himself, after a second short period of sleep, studied the Scriptures with Herbert the Hebrew scholar by his side. He then assisted at Mass and proceeded to hear any cases or appeals that were pending. Then he dined with his household while his cross-bearer read some Latin work. The food served was rich and varied, but Thomas ate little, disguising his abstinence by sending special dishes to particular persons at the table. He drank a little wine, but his customary drink was water flavoured (so Herbert says) with boiled hay. Then he went to his large room accompanied by his clerks, and discussed theology and law with them. As always in medieval accounts of the day's work, the late afternoon drops out, but we know that the archbishop attended, or at least heard, Vespers in the monastic choir. William FitzStephen adds that he wore a hairshirt down to his knees, with an opening at the back to allow for scourging.

Historians have often lamented that so little is known of the pastoral activities of bishops. The life of Wulfstan of Worcester is almost unique in this respect. Thomas, we may remember, was in England only for some two-and-a-half years before his exile, and during that time he was constantly on tour with the court. Herbert tells us of the care he took to ordain worthy priests, and he gives us an ordination sermon. We are told also by more than one biographer of his care to confirm children wherever he went. Unlike most bishops, who confirmed candidates from horseback, Thomas always dismounted out of reverence for the sacrament.

Before coming to the period of strife and exile we must remind ourselves once more that we have no letters or intimate writings such as we have, for example, for Anselm, nor did Thomas ever, as did John of Salisbury and Gerald of Wales, reveal to friends or readers his feelings, his problems and his judgment on men and events. All his letters, save for those that are purely administrative, bear upon the external conflict in which he was engaged, and the only biographer to give us glimpses of what Thomas said and thought is Herbert of Bosham, who wraps the grain of fact in a vast cocoon of pious platitudes which effectually deadens the voice and personality of his subject, even if careful attention may sometimes catch the tones of Thomas through the wool.

We cannot follow the complicated story of the events that led to the archbishop's exile. We need only remark that twice—at the council of Westminster (2 Oct. 1163) and at that of Clarendon (14 Jan. 1164)—the archbishop gave way to Henry and subsequently repented of his behaviour. In neither case did he inform his colleagues of his intention. Whatever historians may think a statesmanlike leader or a saintly stickler should have done, this was certainly not the way to act. Thomas's repentance for his weakness, which was not due to physical fear but to his old loyalty to the king and concern for his colleagues, was sincere; after Clarendon he wrote to the pope offering his resignation, and withdrew from offering Mass before the papal absolution arrived. At Northampton (8-13 Oct. 1164) he stood firm all the time, nerved at a critical moment by the courageous advice of his confessor, Robert of Merton. When about to be sentenced as a traitor, he strode out of the castle and fled by night, ultimately arriving at Gravelines on 2 November.

For the rest of his life the Constitutions of Clarendon, with subsequent additions, stood between him and reconciliation with Henry II. What was it that he refused to accept? The essential points of controversy at Clarendon were:

(1) The 'criminous clerks' issue. Reduced to its lowest terms this was the claim of the lay courts to sentence and punish a clerk who had already been condemned and degraded by a court christian. Thomas held the double judgment to be unjust, and in any case uncanonical.
(2) Clergy were forbidden to leave England to visit the pope without royal permission.
(3) Tenants-in-chief and royal ministers might not be excommunicated without the king's leave.
(4) Appeals from a church court should be determined in England by king and archbishop.
(5) The king should enjoy the revenues of vacant sees and abbeys, and the subsequent election should take place in his chapel.

All these involved a clash between what had been royal practice at various times in England, and the newly centralized church and its canon law under the papacy. No group of bishops loyal to the pope and united among themselves could have accepted the Constitutions as they stood, and for this reason many contemporaries and modern historians have considered that it was a fatal mistake on Henry's part to have them written down for formal acceptance by the church. Another king and another archbishop might well have arranged a compromise in practice. But Thomas had alienated for ever the sympathy and affection of the king by his opposition at Westminster and Clarendon. Therefore at Northampton Henry set himself to ruin Thomas financially and probably to imprison him, if not to execute him as traitor, if he refused all his demands. Thomas could truly say that he was fighting the battle of the church and canon law, but could it be held that he was directly defending the Christian faith?

The archbishop reached the pope at Sens, and when emissaries from both king and archbishop had put their cases Alexander heard Thomas at length and confirmed his support, though he avoided a direct collision with the king. Thenceforward, for almost six years the archbishop and his household lodged first in the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny (Nov. 1164-Nov. 1166) and then in Ste Colombe at Sens (Nov. 1166-Oct. 1170).

At Pontigny he rallied the nucleus of his Canterbury staff. He continued his strict regime of fasting and penance, wearing a Cistercian habit and endeavouring for a time to follow the monastic diet. His health broke down, and he was for a time seriously ill. During the first months at Pontigny, also, he had the distressing experience of receiving the many relatives and dependents who had been exiled by Henry II and bound under oath to present themselves to the archbishop. Herbert, distressed by the archbishop's illness, remonstrated with him, and in future he took reasonable nourishment, but during the whole of his exile he lived a life of extreme penance, snatching a few hours of sleep, sometimes with a stone for a pillow, and scourged nightly by his chaplain. Whatever may be thought of the spiritual value of these exercises, the perseverance of the archbishop in such religious discipline for six years draws at least something of the admiration that we give to climbers on the north face of the Eiger. Still more admirable, perhaps, was his steadfastness in what must have been a long mental struggle against depression and despair. That he succeeded in keeping his entourage in good trim for six years, with new arrivals filling the gaps left by defaulters, must be reckoned a singular triumph of personality.

Apart from this we have very little personal information of the archbishop's life during the years of exile. It is almost common form among English historians to suggest that he became steadily more obstinate, even fanatical, during these years. Their opinion is based upon too favourable a view of the king, and upon some of Thomas's letters and his seemingly harsh public censures at Vézelay in 1166 and again in 1169-70. I am not concerned to defend all his words and actions, but it is well to remember that while his only offence against the king was to refuse to fall in with his wishes, Henry from the day of Clarendon onwards had done his best to injure Thomas in every way possible. At Northampton he had demanded immense sums of money from the archbishop and had threatened him with dire personal punishment. When Thomas fled he had confiscated the resources of his relatives, men, women and children, and had exiled them. Subsequently he had confiscated the property of his clerks and supporters, and had taken into his hand the property and patronage of the see of Canterbury. He had encouraged Geoffrey Ridel, a known enemy of Thomas, whom he had appointed archdeacon of Canterbury, and allowed de Broc, another enemy, to hold and despoil the estates of the church. He had never ceased, both privately and by public embassies, to defame and harass the exile and to work for his resignation or deposition.

The basic point, for six years, remained the Constitutions of Clarendon. None of the bishops had originally been willing to accept them, and the pope had consistently declared them unacceptable. Throughout all the letters and discussions Henry insisted on acceptance as a *sine qua non* of reconciliation, while archbishop Thomas was steadfast in refusal. The schoolboy riddle seems to me a just description of the situation. 'When an irresistible force meets an immoveable mass, what happens?' And the answer comes: 'An inconceivable smash.' It is perhaps worth recalling that John of Salisbury, recognised on all hands as outstanding in character and learning, had been exiled before Thomas for his insistence on the rights of the church; in exile he had twice approached the king for pardon and restoration of his property, and the talk had twice broken down when he refused to swear to the observation of the Constitutions. John at the time was neither in the employment nor in the company of Thomas.

In 1169 King Henry added to the Constitutions several which virtually severed all relations between the church of England and the papacy save such as the king might allow to pass through his own hands. Peter's Pence were confiscated, appeals forbidden, and an oath to denounce obedience to Alexander III was demanded from all his subjects. If fully implemented this would have left England almost exactly in the position reached by Henry VIII and the Reformation Parliament in 1534, save for the absence in 1169 of any theological denial of papal power. Instead, Henry denied the right of Alexander III to the papal title. With the hindsight of history we may say that the climate, if not the conscience, of the age would not have tolerated the set-up for long, but this was not so clear to a Europe in which the Empire was already in schism. Moreover, men cannot cease from action and wait for a change of policy which they think will come. To pursue the Tudor parallel, it was exactly such an attitude of *laisser-faire* that hamstrung the bishops of England at the Submission of the Clergy in 1532.

Thomas for his part regarded this move as directed against the papacy and the true pope, and while his anger was still echoing in his letters, the king proceeded to have his son crowned by Roger of York, the inveterate enemy of Thomas, and to force all attending the ceremony to take the anti-papal oath. Such a coronation traversed an undoubted right of Canterbury, and justified the worst fears of the archbishop. It had been duly forbidden by both Alexander and himself, and his violent reaction is comprehensible. What followed is harder to understand. Henry, once he had achieved his end with the coronation, feared that excommunication or an interdict might cause a revolt. He hastened abroad, and after several unsuccessful pourparlers met the archbishop at Fréteval, where an apparently complete reconciliation was effected. Thomas was to return and resume possession of his see and its properties, with compensation and punishment for those who had wasted them. The Constitutions were not mentioned by either party, and the king refused, as he had in the past, to ratify the pact by giving the kiss of peace to Thomas. Henry's aim was clear : to avoid the consequences of his action while not abandoning his policy. The coast of England was already closely guarded, and once the archbishop was in England he would be in the king's power ; he must either obey the king or take the consequences. Why did Thomas accept these terms ? He knew Henry's character : obstinate, unreliable and merciless. He knew the kiss of peace had not been given. It has been suggested that he was fanatical to the extent of desiring the fame of martyrdom. Certainly some of his utterances, if authentic, show that he foresaw that the only way out of the impasse was by his own death. But to foresee danger is not to court it. Thomas had always been a physically brave and forceful man. He returned to England because, for the first time, return was possible without forswearing himself. He was ready to live ; ready also to die. He has often been blamed for sending ahead across the Channel excommunications of Roger of York, Gilbert of London and Jocelin of Salisbury for their share in the coronation. Thomas was quite fearless and arguments for tact and caution never appealed to him. But in fact the censures he was hurling were papal as well as his own, and the bishops were in fact proceeding to join Henry to fill the vacant English sees—a direct flouting of canon law and his own rights.

His return to England was a triumph so far as the common people were concerned, but the king's men were still encumbering his lands and castles, and holding strongpoints along the coast, and he met everywhere rebuffs from royal officials. When envoys from the bishops and king's men came together to Canterbury to demand absolution for the bishops, citing the Constitutions of Clarendon, Thomas must have known that a crisis was upon him. He has been blamed for his refusal, as if merely indulging in private spite, but besides the valid canonical argument that he could not reverse a papal sentence, he knew that to give way would be taken by Henry as surrender, and exploited unscrupulously. His refusal to the knights of the same request on the day of his death was made in the same words. The excommunication was just ; and it was in part the pope's. Thomas has sometimes been pictured as fighting with the knights. This is not correct. He resisted the attempt to haul him out of the church of God, whether to prison or death, but when they drew their swords he awaited their stroke without flinching, but without resistance or flight. I fear that I have done little in this lecture to establish Thomas's sanctity, though I hope I have done something to destroy the verdict of fanaticism. When men such as John of Salisbury and William, bishop of Poitiers, and political magnates such as Louis VII and Alexander III, to say nothing of bishops such as Henry of Winchester, and Bartholomew of Exeter, and Roger of Worcester—when such as these hold steadfastly to the archbishop's cause we can scarcely accuse him of fanatical obstinacy. But I would willingly admit that there is a good deal of personal abuse, questionable argument and occasional bad taste in his letters. Bernard could abuse with the best, but his letters remain the letters of a saint. Anselm had difficulties with his Henry, yet his letters remain tranquil. Thomas pen in hand was almost always declaiming and demanding, and Herbert of Bosham, who wrote some letters in his name, set him a very bad example.

Four letters of the archbishop stand apart from all the others in the great collection. Three were written in rapid succession in 1166 to King Henry, in which the archbishop writes as the king's spiritual father. Thomas cannot have felt altogether at ease in this role, remembering past years when he had hunted and hawked and frolicked with Henry. It cannot be said that these letters are a spiritual, or even a literary, masterpiece. On the other hand a short letter, written to an unknown lady in religious vows, shows an unexpected gentleness of approach. Save for two diplomatic letters to Henry's mother, the Empress, and another of the same kind, this is the only letter to a woman in the whole dossier. He is asking her, probably in 1170, to serve on Roger of York the letter prohibiting him to crown the young king. It was no light task for a woman, however loyal and courageous, to face a group of bishops and serve on the toughest of them a severe prohibition. Thomas must have known and trusted his messenger, for he ends :

> 'The mother of mercy will be with you, daughter, begging her son whom she bore, God and man, for the salvation of the world, to be your guide, companion and guardian. Farewell, betrothed of Christ, and think of him as always present.'

We have now come to the end of the seven-and-a-half years of the reformed life of archbishop Thomas. I have tried to present it fairly, from the insufficient evidence. How shall we sum it up ? I said at the beginning of this lecture that my own mind was not yet made up. I think it is now : that on the available evidence Thomas does not display fully the characteristics of a saint. A saint must somehow represent Christ ; not perfectly, of course, but also not merely partially. He must show humility and service as well as fortitude ; compassion as well as zeal for the law of God ; tenderness as well as severity. A saint must be eminently lovable and yet inflexible when truth or the law of God is at stake. Thomas certainly has the latter characterisctic. By nature active and fearless, he showed himself also capable of physical and mental endurance and suffering for what he held to be right. After his death, when they were preparing his body for washing, they found the hairshirt of which they had been ignorant, and in and beneath it swarms of lice and ticks. The monks, contrary to what might have been expected, exclaimed at once that the constant suffering Thomas must have endured from them exceeded his martyrdom, and most of us would feel that they would prefer a sword to that hairshirt. But does Thomas radiate unselfish love and compassion and that personal awareness of God, that impression of living by a light which is not ours, and yet loving and caring and sharing with ordinary mortals ? To me he does not—on the evidence. His closest biographer, Herbert of Bosham, uses the adjective ' great ' again and again and great he certainly was. John of Salisbury felt that he dominated his society. But greatness is not the characteristic adjective that either Scripture or the liturgy apply to the humanity of Christ. Strong, holy, loving, wise, stern—but not great, which implies a purely human standard of comparison.

Yet if not fully a saint, Thomas certainly had some of the qualities that make up holiness : undaunted courage, unshakable determination, and a living faith. Had he lived for twenty years at Canterbury he might well have become another Hugh of Lincoln.

We come now to the second question. Was he a martyr ? And here I could begin by challenging the suggestion that he courted death to achieve a final ambition. I do not think either the historical sources or our own common sense allow of this interpretation. He returned to Canterbury to live, but with a deep foreboding that only by his death could he bring peace to the church. I would not be willing to accept the view that his obstruction was an unnecessary and intolerable nuisance to the king, and that his death was all but inevitable. That is the implicit opinion of many modern historians and many unprofessional readers of history. Their admiration, largely derived from the researches of Maitland, for the administrative and legal achievements of Henry lead them to regard him, as many would regard William the Conqueror, as a great statesman who laid the foundations of the fabric of England's firm system of law. That, it seems to me, is an anachronistic view. Henry was not a paternal monarch nor an enlightened despot. He was a king and leader of real, if erratic, genius, but his ends, as those of medieval monarchs, were personal and dynastic aggrandisement and ease of control. That he and his group of brilliant ' civil servants ' chose means that were in fact to issue in the admirable legal and administrative machine of later days was incidental. In his controversy with Thomas, crystallised in the Constitutions of Clarendon, there was much to be said for the royal proposals for dealing with criminous clerks, but they ignored the trend of contemporary canon law. Henry's other and more important demands, when set out as a formal agreement, could not have been accepted as they stood by the church. But it was not the clash of opinions that put Henry in the wrong. It was his abandonment of discussion in favour of recourse to violence. His conduct at Northampton, his subsequent treatment of Thomas's relatives, and his attempts to reduce Thomas to surrender by devious or violent means changed the whole character of the dispute.

Was Thomas, then, justified in taking issue on the Constitutions ? Would it not have been wiser to bow before the storm and then to work patiently towards a concordat. After all, what in the long run did the church in England gain from his stand ? Surprisingly little of practical value, we must answer, save perhaps the imponderable value of a national hero-saint who had withstood an overbearing king. But is this a question that should be asked ? The controversy in the last analysis became a life and death struggle because the two opponents were men of great ability and mental power, with strong wills at a moment of history when both had strong support—Henry from the royal prerogative and prestige, and the control of the government machine, Thomas from the prevailing doctrines of the Gregorian reform, and from acceptance by all of the papacy as an essential authority and of excommunication as an effectual sanction. It is always hard to decide—some of us may have experienced this in our own small affairs—whether dogged opposition to what we consider the unjust use of power is wise ; whether things even more valuable may be lost in the fight. The decision will depend upon character. As Thomas saw it, resistance here and now was a duty. His resolute stand had for him an absolute spiritual value, be the outcome what it might.

Thomas had taken his stand at Clarendon in defence of the principles of the reformed church, expressed in the revised and extending canon law. Before long, Henry's threatened support of the antipope led him to hold that the whole government of the church was at stake.

> 'Although you may collapse in the present crisis,' he wrote to some lukewarm cardinals, 'I will not collapse, God helping, amid the ruins of your world. I, your companion in the service of the supreme Pastor, bear the cross on behalf of the church, fearing nothing of what men may say, and I will bear it whether the world approves or not, whether it says Yea or Nay.'

Some years later, when John of Poitiers, his friend in Theobald's household long ago, charged him with pride and obstinacy, and of destroying the church, he answered, 'Take care, brother, that the church of God be not destroyed by you. By me, God willing, it will never be destroyed.' In his last letter to the pope before he left Sens to return to England, perhaps the finest of all his letters, he wrote that he was acting,

> 'so that in your day and mine the recurring possibility of schism may be avoided, and lasting peace may be restored by your favour in the church of England. I say this before him who is judge of both of us, and to whom we must render account for all our actions. May he inspire you and teach you what is best to be done. You have heard what I have suffered, but as our English proverb has it : "Only those near the fire feel its heat." I intend to set out for England, whether to peace or to pain I know not ; it is God who ordains the issue. And so I commend my soul to your fatherly care, thanking you and the Holy See for all the consolation and help you have given to me and mine in our great distress . . . Most gracious and loving father, may your Holiness ever fare well.'

This letter undoubtedly expresses the archbishop's deepest conviction, and in view of Henry's progress towards a complete control of the church in England, and its complete isolation from Rome, it is hard to say that he was mistaken. We must be very careful to place ourselves as far as possible in the mental climate of the twelfth century. It was not the age of St. Dunstan, when the church in England and other countries was virtually dependent on its own resources and initiative under a Christian king, with Rome simply as an ultimate source of authority and doctrine. Nor was it the age of William the Conqueror, when a reforming king with a reforming archbishop was reorganising the church, accepting the pope as ultimate authority, but rebuffing the centralising activities of Gregory VII. Nor was it the age of Henry VIII, when papal decadence, the king's private predicament, nationalist feeling, and the invasion of a wholly new theological revolution, led to a break with Rome which explicitly repudiated papal claims. In 1170 all western Europe accepted the papacy as a part of the established order of things, even if from time to time a German emperor might maintain an antipope, and all earnest churchmen in England and France stood firmly for Alexander III as the rightful pope of the day. Henry II, in pursuance of what he claimed to be his ancestral rights, had repeatedly threatened to support the antipope and had now severed all links with Alexander, putting his subjects under oath to renounce their allegiance. In this he had no public opinion either at home or abroad on his side, only an able and well organised group of ministers and a few reluctant bishops. There was not a trace of antipapal feeling in the country ; that was to come in the next century. Thomas was convinced, probably with justice, that the king would never willingly abate his demands. He stood, therefore, for the freedom of his church as part of the universal church under the pope. On the last afternoon of his life, when he refused to absolve the bishops from the papal censure, Thomas told the knights who came from the king that he would never swerve from God's justice and obedience to the pope. A few minutes later he told John of Salisbury that he was ready to die for the sake of God's justice and the church's freedom. His last words when beaten down with sword-strokes, were, ' I accept death for the name of Jesus and for the Church.'

For myself, after a long pondering over the evidence, I am satisfied that he spoke the truth not only subjectively but objectively, that however personal relationships and misjudgements may have combined to produce the crisis, however true it may be that Henry had acted irresponsibly rather than of set anti-papal policy, yet at the moment, as the best minds in western Europe saw it, Henry was enslaving the English church and in no sense defending its freedom of spiritual action. Thomas was therefore, at that moment, dying for the freedom of the Church, and as such was a martyr, a witness, to the right of the church to spiritual freedom.

I have omitted in the preceding pages all the dreams and visions and prophetic sayings attributed to the archbishop, particularly in the last months and days of his life. We cannot be sure of their authenticity, nor do they prove his sanctity. But it would be unhistorical to omit any mention of the outburst of devotion, based largely on the alleged stream of miraculous cures, that made of this cathedral church a place of European pilgrimage second to none after Rome itself. There we must leave it. I certainly do not deny the possibility of the direct action of God in healing disease, and in some modern instances I can see no other rational explanation. On the other hand we cannot judge categorically of the authenticity of any alleged miracle at Canterbury eight hundred years ago. But I should like to quote, simply as a piece of historical interest, some lines which John of Salisbury wrote to his and Thomas's friend and sometime colleague, now bishop of Poitiers. It was written from Canterbury a very short time after the murder, for the coasts were still jealously guarded and only those with the king's permit were allowed to leave the country. John, as we know, had not hesitated to criticise some of the archbishop's actions and letters, and only a brief half-hour before the murder had accused him of foolhardiness in arguing with the knights. In his earlier writings he had not spared criticism even of St. Bernard. He and Abelard were probably the two coolest and most critical observers of their contemporaries. He is describing the scene immediately after the murder.

> 'They buried him (he writes) in a marble tomb before the altars of St John the Baptist and St Augustine, the apostle of England, where, to the glory of almighty God miracles take place many and great. The people come in crowds to see in others and experience in themselves the mercy of Him who is ever wonderful and glorious in his saints. For both in the places where he suffered and where he rested before the high altar when awaiting burial, as also in the place where he was buried, the paralysed are cured, the blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the lame walk, those sick of various diseases are healed. . . . I would not ever have presumed to write in this way, unless what I saw with my own eyes had not made me absolutely certain of what I say.'

THOMAS BECKET AND THE CHURCH

by Robert Franklin

The drama of Becket's murder in the cathedral has permanently distorted estimates of his place in the life of the church as a whole. In it, he was the central figure ; and it has consequently been assumed that his role in the ecclesiastical history of England, and even Europe, was of commensurate significance. It also symbolised most starkly the clash between the two swords, secular and sacred, and ever since Becket's career has been placed, almost exclusively, in the context of the struggle for supremacy between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. In other words, he has been seen as a political figure, concerned chiefly with the realities of power. This is not a pattern imposed on the events of his archiepiscopate solely by the hindsight of historians : Henry II contended throughout the struggle that Becket was determined to subvert his authority, and even more extravagant claims were made by some of his supporters. The four knights, in their confrontation with him immediately before the murder, maintained that his refusal to absolve the bishops who had crowned Henry the young king without his permission was tantamount to an attempt to dethrone him, although Becket assured them that, if it were in his power, he would rather confer more crowns upon him.

In the life of the English Church, his importance was far more symbolic than real, because he was in many respects, an exceedingly eccentric figure to become archbishop of Canterbury. Since the Norman Conquest, the see had been entirely dominated by the Benedictine monasticism of the Continent. Of the five archbishops of Canterbury elected between the Conquest and Becket's elevation to the primacy, only one had not been a monk, William of Corbeil, an Austin Canon. All the others had held high office in one of the great monasteries of Normandy and France, and three of them had been abbot or prior of a single monastery, Bec. The Bec tradition at Canterbury was so strong that the abbot was an almost automatic candidate for the succession to Becket himself, and although opposition from the other bishops of England and procedural difficulties prevented his election, the man who eventually became archbishop was another Benedictine, Richard, prior of Dover. The monks of Canterbury naturally preferred that their archbishop should be a member of their own order, and there was never the same close identification between him and the cathedral monastery as his predecessors had enjoyed. The monastery had opposed his election in the first place, on the grounds that he was not a monk, and his great companion in exile, John of Salisbury, complained repeatedly of its failure to send funds to assist the archbishop. In 1167 he wrote to William, the subprior of Canterbury : " I am amazed that outpourings of generosity have not yet reached a father who is devoting himself to the safety and freedom of his sons, and has been exposed to hardship for a full three years ". This cool attitude towards the archbishop was shared by at least one of the leading figures of continental monasticism, the great abbot Peter of Celle. While Becket was still chancellor he had written to Peter suggesting that they should become friends and enter into correspondence. Peter's reply was scrupulously correct, and even submissive, but he refused to become involved with the chancellor. Becket himself felt the lack of monastic status acutely. On becoming archbishop he assumed the habit of a monk secretly, and later wore one which had been blessed for him by the pope. The garment was discovered by the monks of Canterbury when they came to lay him out after the murder, and they at once exclaimed : " He was a true monk, and we never knew." But by that time it was too late to admit the archbishop into the charmed circle of Benedictinism.

It was not only his position as a secular that differentiated Becket from other archbishops of Canterbury in the Twelfth Century. His early career had been quite abnormal for such a position. Far too much has been made of his tenure of the chancellorship as an unusual influence. It was entirely customary for the greater royal officials to be promoted to the episcopate, and the only respect in which Henry II's plans for his friend were surprising is that the king intended him to continue to hold the chancellorship after he became archbishop. Previously, it had been the invariable practice for court office to be surrendered in these circumstances. But even here, Henry was only anticipating by a few years what was to become common form. William Longchamps, Richard I's chancellor in Poitou, continued to hold office after he became bishop of Ely ; and Hubert Walter, one of the greatest and most active chancellors, held the position concurrently with the archbishopric of Canterbury. But Becket's family background and early training were highly un-ecclesiastical. His father was a wealthy merchant of London, and naturally brought up his son in the same way of life. First under another merchant, Richard de l'Aigle, and then under a London notable, Osbert Huitdeniers, he was prepared for a career in business and administration rather than for the service of the church. Even after he broke with this way of life and entered the household of archbishop Theobald, his activities were largely legal and administrative. John of Salisbury, in his biography, says of this period of Becket's life :

> " So that an ability to plead and decide in legal causes and a capacity for teaching the people should be instilled into this man, who was predestined by God to be a bishop, he set himself to learn civil and canon law, and in order that he should acquire a greater facility in handling affairs from experience of them, he was made archdeacon of that same church of Canterbury, in which he had been nurtured, by the archbishop."

Archbishop Theobald also used Becket on diplomatic missions overseas, including the delicate negotiations over the papal recognition of Stephen's son, Eustace. As reward, he was given a number of profitable benefices to hold in plurality, a fact which he later recalled to contradict the king's claim that he had raised him from nothing by giving him the chancellorship. The office of archdeacon was an accepted stepping-stone to a bishopric, but not to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Archdeacons had an evil reputation for extortion and corruption, and Becket was accused of both by his enemies. Moreover his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and other devotional literature was not up to the standard of his legal expertise. Herbert of Bosham, one of his closest associates among his household clerks, asserts that when he began to read the Bible again seriously on becoming archbishop, to undo the rustiness caused by his years at court, he was unwilling to venture on the most straightforward passages without the guidance of someone more experienced.

These deficiencies of training, knowledge, and experience set Becket apart from the three great archbishops of Canterbury of the previous century whose tenures of the see had genuinely moulded the life of the Church of England. In character he contrasts most sharply with Anselm, whose career had, superficially, the greatest similarities with his own. The author of "Cur Deus Homo" had been a very great spiritual leader capable of evoking remarkable popular response. During his exile on the continent, he had not only continued with his great philosophical work, but impressed all who met him with the extraordinary sanctity and loving-kindness of his personality. Men flocked to him for the sacrament of confirmation, so that he was exhausted by the end of the day. Admittedly, it is unfair to compare any lesser man with Anselm, for he was one of those great saints whose beauty of character still shines from his own writings and the works of those who knew him. But Becket's sterile monastic seclusion and mortifications while in exile, his endless bickerings and intrigues with pope and cardinals, his complaints of poverty and sudden outbursts of violence, reveal a man with, comparatively, a most jejeune understanding of the spiritual life. It is significant that John of Salisbury should have felt it necessary to remind the monks of Canterbury of the joyous reception which had greeted Anselm on his return from exile, and warn them against any appearance of disloyalty in their welcome to his successor.

His inability to match the achievements of the other two great post-Conquest archbishops, Lanfranc and Theobald, stemmed less from personal failings than from the circumstances of his exile. Lanfranc had been one of the greatest of ecclesiastical organisers. Whether or not one accepts the view of the late Anglo-Saxon church as a primitive and corrupt body, there can be no doubt that it was out of line with recent developments on the Continent, and Lanfranc's achievement was to remedy this. Among his reforming activities, the introduction of modern canon law held the most implications for the future, but the greatest monument to his archiepiscopate was the Monastic Constitutions, one of the wisest and most practical interpretations and amplifications of the Benedictine Rule. Becket was in no position to undertake tasks of this kind. He was aware of the need to do so ; even in the course of his exile he tried to smooth the progress of the newly-founded Gilbertine Order by moderating the ascetic zeal of its head. But these interventions from afar could have little more than a moral influence, for the archbishop had no control over the normal ecclesiastical machinery to put his wishes into effect. Nor could he give his province the kind of lead in matters of church discipline which had been provided by his immediate predecessor. In the legatine Council which Theobald held in London in 1151, a series of canons were passed which reveal a clear line of policy for the church as a whole, of alliance with the king against the disruptive tendencies of the baronial rebels. This implied a fairly widespread recognition of royal financial and legal rights over the church, as well as being a genuine attempt at moral reform. Such legislative activity was resumed by Becket's successors, and reached a high point in the course of the thirteenth century. It is doubtful whether the gap caused by Becket's absence did the state of the church any serious injury, although his own co-exiles constantly bemoaned the fate of their fellows in England, " sheep without shepherd ", and his successor, Archbishop Richard, claimed that the church suffered a considerable reduction in its rights and privileges in the period before he came to office. But any estimate of Becket's accomplishments must take into account the fact that the policies he determined to pursue effectively debarred him from fulfilling the normal functions of the metropolitan in directing the course of the church, in a period of rapid institutional development.

The astonishingly swift development of a cult of St Thomas throughout Europe, inevitably conferred on him the status of a major protagonist in the progress of the Universal Church. Yet, in this respect, as in his relations to his own national church, his life was of far less significance than his death, and in some ways his actions were positively damaging. The tragedy of his disagreement with Henry II was played out against a backcloth of the far greater episode of the schism and the conflict between Pope Alexander III and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Becket never seems to have comprehended the full significance of this for the power of the papacy. For Alexander the dispute in England was peripheral to his chief concerns, and he was only anxious to confine it sufficiently to prevent Henry II being tempted into the open espousal of the imperialist cause which he constantly threatened. The pope was perfectly aware that, as Herbert of Bosham put it, any attempt by the papacy to oppose the king of England in his own island was like a convict struggling with his gaoler in the cell. When the archbishop appeared before him in 1164, after his flight from the Council of Northampton, the pope rebuked him for his acceptance of the Constitutions of Clarendon, which had brought the latent conflict between lay and ecclesiastical authority in England into the open, and had driven Alexander into a delicate balancing act between the claims of his own plenitude of power and Henry's goodwill. Personally, the pope clearly regarded Becket as being erratic and unreliable. The whole tone of their relationship, and the pope's agonizing efforts to make peace through diplomacy, are summed up in a letter from Alexander to Becket written towards the end of 1166, the year in which the archbishop had taken the offensive against his persecutors by excommunicating a number of the king's supporters, and threatening his own person, on Whitsunday at Vézelay :

> "We have received letters and messengers from our most beloved son in Christ, Henry, illustrious king of England, and have decided to warn him once again by letters and messengers, and to soften his heart by reiterated exhortion, so that he will reconcile himself to you, and readmit you to his grace and favour. For we hope and trust in the Lord that he will consent to our advice and encouragement, and will restore your church to you peacefully and freely. So we beg, advise and command you to put up with him patiently until we have discovered the outcome of this, and not to take any action against him or his realm in the meanwhile, which he could regard as serious or hostile. Naturally, if he refuses to come to an agreement through our messengers, if we decide to send any, we will not fail you for any reason, so help us God, but we shall take care that your rights and honour and dignity are preserved for you and your church, as far as divine grace allows. In the last resort you shall not be deprived of authority to exercise your office freely, if there is no other way of recalling the king to his obedience. However, we wish you to keep this secret."

There is the strongest possible contrast between this careful manoeuvring to avoid a head-on clash between pope and king and the uncompromising stand Alexander took when he saw that the legal rights of the papacy were directly challenged by Barbarossa's claim to jurisdiction over it.

Papal disapproval meant that Becket was not involved in the manifold administrative duties which normally fell to the lot of an archbishop at this time. Metropolitans were in a very real sense princes of the church, not only of their own church. The papacy had taken on a load of judicial responsibilities which required large-scale delegation, and the bishops of the greater sees and archbishops were ideal agents for this purpose, since their high place in secular society combined with the spiritual sanction they derived from their office in the church to give them sufficient authority to execute their decisions. It might have been expected that Becket, the holder of one of the most prestigious sees in the whole of Europe, would have been put to use as a papal agent very widely, when he was freed by circumstances from the normal run of diocesan business. Certainly, the precedent of the exiled Anselm pointed in this direction. He had been given a leading role to play by Urban II at the Council of Bari in 1098, where he confuted the Greeks' error on the Procession of the Holy Ghost " in a reasoned and catholic disquisition ", and was always treated with the highest marks of respect by the pope. Alexander III, on the contrary, seemed to be most concerned to keep Becket quiet in decent seclusion, first at Pontigny, and then, with the cooperation of Louis VII, at St Columba's, Sens. Only on one occasion is the pope found proposing to give Becket a special function, at the end of 1166, when he wrote to Louis that it would give him great pleasure if it could be arranged without scandal to the church in France that he should give the archbishop " prerogatives of special honour " and create him papal vicegerent for the kingdom. He asked Louis to send his opinion of this plan as quickly as possible, and as usual with the greatest stress on the need for secrecy. But even this suggestion was designed to be put into practice only if the proposed legation of the cardinals William and Otto failed to make peace between the archbishop and Henry II, and it bears all the marks of a promotion into obscurity. The system of appeals to Rome over the heads of ecclesiastical superiors was so well established that it would have been impossible for a man holding such an anomalous position as this, without the support of a tradition behind it, to impose his will on the great prelates who were the leaders of the church in France. It was really only possible for the pope to delegate his authority for specific purposes, and in this instance he was clearly trying to cut the Gordian knot of the Becket situation by disguised deposition from Canterbury.

Yet, in reality, Becket was concerned with the normal life of the church. His own circumstances prevented him from playing an active role during his lifetime, but the thread of interest remains constant from his consecration right up till the murder. One of the major causes of dispute between him and the king had been his care to resume lands belonging to the cathedral which he felt had been improperly alienated, in the first few months of his archiepiscopate. His timing was tactless, to say the least, but the action itself was not unreasonable ; it was universally admitted to be a primary responsibility of every bishop to preserve the endowments of his see from the encroachments of a voracious laity. At the very end of his career, in the brief period between his return from exile and the murder, he showed an intense interest in normal episcopal functions. When he tried to visit Henry the young king, messengers were sent to intercept him, and refuse him an interview on Henry's behalf. They also ordered him to return to his cathedral and to refrain from travelling around the king's towns and villages. To this Becket replied :

> " If the king forbids me, by these unprecedented orders, to enter his towns and villages, he is guilty of preventing me from fulfilling the pastoral duties of my office. For how can

> I visit my diocese, which extends through these cities and villages, if I am prohibited from entering them or passing through them? God knows. The king does not permit churches which are situated all over the place to be dedicated, postulant virgins to be consecrated, he deprives monasteries of holy exhortations and admonitions, he takes away the shepherd so that the Lord's flock may be rent and dispersed by the wolves."

These were not empty phrases, because Becket had taken the opportunity of his journey from the coast to Canterbury to administer confirmation, and on his arrival at the cathedral had held an ordination.

The evidence for Becket's activities as diocesan and provincial administrator is scanty and scattered, as they were not a principal concern of his biographers or those who formed the letter-collection on which so much of our knowledge of his career rests. But enough remains to show that he was concerned to maintain his rights, and, as far as the circumstances of his exile allowed, his direct influence on events. The archbishop took great pains to keep open his channels of communication with England, in the face of Henry's prohibitions and the very real risk run by messengers. He made considerable use of Cistercian monks in this role, but on one occasion was driven to entrust a message to a nun, and on another to a boy, who was subsequently hunted by the sheriff of Kent and his men with drawn swords. The importance of these activities is that they represent a desperate effort by the archbishop to maintain normality in the face of impossible odds. They run clean counter to the suggestion that the archbishop was solely politically motivated. The greatest prelates of the late twelfth century were constantly involved in quasi-political matters, either on their own behalf, or as the coopted servants of the state at a time when they made up a very high proportion of the available administrative talent. A very large number of Becket's fellow-bishops acted as royal judges, and were in constant attendance upon the crown to give counsel or perform incidental administrative duties. But it would be entirely wrong to present this as their whole, or even, in their own eyes, their chief duty. The church was an organisation far larger than any single state which claimed the right to control society in all areas in which morality was of central significance. Most bishops' lives were already taken up to the greatest extent with the routine of diocesan administration, in which matters of finance played a very considerable part. It was, in fact, natural that Becket should have tried to play the role of any ordinary archbishop, but his determination in doing so even in surroundings of intense political crisis, and in spite of the fact that he was himself an intensely political person, is the most eloquent possible witness to the reality of the church of his time as a self-confident, self-sufficient body with a genuine sense of a mission above and beyond the changes and chances of this transitory life.

This is most of all apparent in the relationship Becket endeavoured to establish with his sovereign after he became archbishop. It is too easy to assume that in the century following the Gregorian Reform the leaders of the church, whether popes or archbishops, would normally expect to be at odds with the secular power. Conflicts often arose in the event ; but the whole trend of ecclesiastical thought, and especially canonistic thought, was to regard co-operation between the two swords as the norm, and any deviation from it as a regrettable aberration to be amended as quickly as possible. This, certainly, was the attitude taken by Becket, and it is exemplified most obviously in the three long letters he wrote to the king in 1166, in an attempt to heal the breach between them. They were not the most tactful of letters, but they are genuinely pastoral in tone. Becket addresses the king as a spiritual father to his son, pointing out the gross impropriety of the royal revolt against him in this role, and reiterating his responsibility for the king's eternal salvation, and his fears for his own, if he fails in his duty to check one of his sheep in evil-doing.

These three letters to Henry contain another important element, as well as the pastoral ; this is a very extensive reference to the canon law on the subject of the relations between state and church. The canonical movement must rank with the expansion of the Cistercian Order as the two greatest advances in the spiritual life of Europe in the twelfth century, and Gratian had an even more profound significance for the future than Cîteaux. Becket was not so near the centre of this development as some of his fellow-bishops in England, but he had had a canonical training, and took trouble to keep up his knowledge—indeed he was rebuked by John of Salisbury for his concentration on legal studies while at Pontigny, to the exclusion of the biblical and patristic studies which John felt would have been of greater benefit to his general spiritual state. Becket's understanding of canon law does not appear to have been very sophisticated, but in all the crises of his career the archbishop attempted to give his actions a canonical gloss. The most famous of these was, of course, the maxim he quoted against the king's claim to jurisdiction over criminous clerks in the secular courts ; " Nec enim Deus iudicat bis in idipsum." But he also referred to prohibitions on the judgement of superiors by inferiors, and, on his return from exile, to the canonical necessity of restoration as a condition of true penance. In this Becket most clearly reflected the church as a whole, and did so consciously.

There remains the question, which has long agitated historians, of how far his own legal preoccupations, and the discredit brought upon Henry II by his murder, affected the reception of the canon law in England. If it were true that the combined effects of the two had been to introduce this law into England in full force for the first time, his career would indeed be of the highest significance for the history of the church in Europe as a whole. But Maitland's demonstration that the canon law had indeed been in force in the country, in some spheres at least, since the Norman conquest, has never been seriously challenged, and the vast extension of knowledge in this field since his lifetime has served only to confirm and amplify his original conclusions. The argument now centres on the question how far Becket's insistence on the principle of freedom of appeal to Rome, and his apparent posthumous victory by the Compromise of Avranches in 1172, affected English links with Rome, and the general development of canon law based on Decretal Collections, in which English collectors took so large a part. Here the final outcome is far less certain, but it is already safe to say that Avranches did not mark the beginning of such appeals. Nor is it any longer tenable that the very high proportion of surviving papal decretals from the late twelfth century which are addressed to English bishops is indicative of backwardness in their canonical expertise. It is indeed an open question whether the preponderance of English material of this kind accurately reflects the real proportions of decretals despatched from the Holy See. But it is clear that Becket's interest in canon law was by no means isolated. It has been pointed out that the greatest identifiable episcopal collectors of decretals in the years after he died had been of his party while he was alive. It would be absurd to suggest that Becket influenced men of such great independent intellectual eminence as Bartholomew of Exeter and Baldwin of Ford towards decretalist activity, but his life and death did pepetuate the conditions in which they could operate. While one may doubt whether Henry II ever had any conscious plan to create a national church with a high degree of independence of the papacy, his instinct for power might well have led him to follow out the démarches of the Constitutions of Clarendon in that direction. But after 1170, he was a king of ill repute, and correspondingly weaker in his moral position vis-à-vis the papacy. Becket's achievement in this respect was negative, but it was real.

However far Becket tried in his lifetime to be a leading figure in the church, it was far more affected, in reality, by his death. In life his connections with the normal run of ecclesiastical life had been marred by the gulf of exile, but after death he could take an assured role, which was of benefit to his own cathedral, the church in England and the papacy. It was entirely appropriate that Alexander III should have taken advantage of the murder to assert papal rights to control over the processes of canonisation, even though this caused considerable scandal to the archbishop's former associates, who felt that Rome was dragging its feet in the matter, and that this might be misinterpreted as casting doubt on the sanctity of the martyr. John of Salisbury and others did not scruple to draw the closest possible comparisons between the murder in the cathedral and the Passion of Our Lord. Becket was referred to as " St Thomas of the West " and although overall precedence was grudgingly conceded to the Apostle of India, Becket's loyal followers pointed out that there were certain specific claims to sanctity enjoyed by the archbishop which the other St Thomas lacked. For the church in England, the murder brought not only the real, if limited, concessions of Avranches, but also a tremendous moral advantage in its future dealings with secular authority. Stephen Langton deliberately pointed the parallel with Becket in his dispute with King John by choosing Pontigny as a place of refuge, and the memory of the martyr was still strong enough in the sixteenth century for Henry VIII to make a special effort to obliterate it, in Canterbury and elsewhere. The cathedral was the most obvious beneficiary of the murder, with the splendours of the shrine and the miracle windows, and all the réclame of one of the greatest centres of pilgrimage in Europe. Yet even these glories were highly symbolic. The prosperity and power of the see rested on other foundations, and had been created by other archbishops. If Becket had been followed in the primacy by a man of the same temper, the political force of his murder might indeed have been used to effect a radical change in the status of the church ; as it was, it did little more than help to preserve the status quo. In Becket's death, as in his life, the myth was more powerful than the reality.

THOMAS BECKET AT SENS

by Jacques Leviste

(translated by Margaret Peacocke)

Having for several years borne impotent witness to the trials of the unfortunate Archbishop of Canterbury, the church and city of Sens devoted to Thomas Becket a cult which has preserved its vitality despite the passing of centuries.

When he accepted the hospitality offered to him by the King of France, the Primate of England was aware of the eagerness of the people of the region of Sens to have him among them. " Upon their advice," writes his secretary Herbert of Bosham, " he decided upon the beautiful city of Sens itself, twelves leagues from Pontigny where we had lived in isolation ; for as they asserted, and so we observed with our own eyes, that city presented many advantages, abounding as it is in corn, wine and oil and being surrounded by forests and ornamented with sweet meadows. Springs bubble up there, streams flow in plenty and the calm of autumn brings in a bountiful harvest of all the fruits of the earth."

While the excellence of the climate and the beauties of nature first persuaded Thomas Becket to make his stay at Sens, the hospitality that he received there from the Archbishop, and the warm welcome accorded by the inhabitants, were to touch him even more deeply.

" We were attracted above all by the character of the people of the region, and what struck us still more than the charms of the city was the civility and style of the clergy and citizens. As we had already discovered, there were among both clerics and laymen persons commanding lavish wealth and hospitality, who made an especial point of honouring foreigners and guests, and who were friendly, forthcoming and generous. We resolved therefore to end our travels among them. There is, near the city, a noble abbey where rests the body of the glorious virgin Saint Columba. The archbishop decided to make his abode there because of the sanctity of the place and in order to escape disturbance . . . "

It was in this manner that Thomas Becket came to spend four years at the abbey of St Columba.

In the 16th century, according to the local historian Taveau, one could still see, near the cathedral in the canons' cloister, the house where the Archbishop of Canterbury lived after the time of his arrival in Sens, on the occasion of his first meeting with Pope Alexander III and, eventually, while visiting the cathedral.

This house was not destroyed until the second half of the 19th century, and the statue of Becket which ornamented the façade, happily surviving the vandalism of revolutionaries, was then set up inside the palace of the Archbishop of Sens.

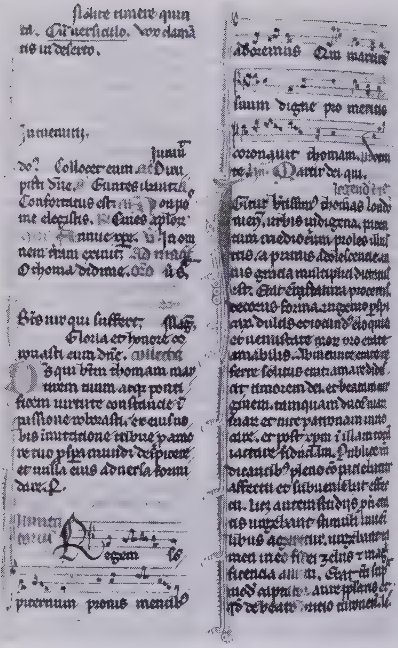
From that time onward a deep friendship came to bind the

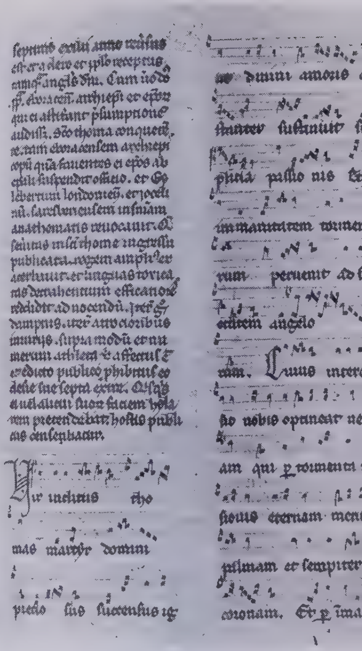
Primate of England to the city of Sens : a friendship founded on the one hand upon admiration and respectful pity for the unfortunate prelate, and, on the other, upon deep gratitude for the considerateness of those souls who recognised his distress.

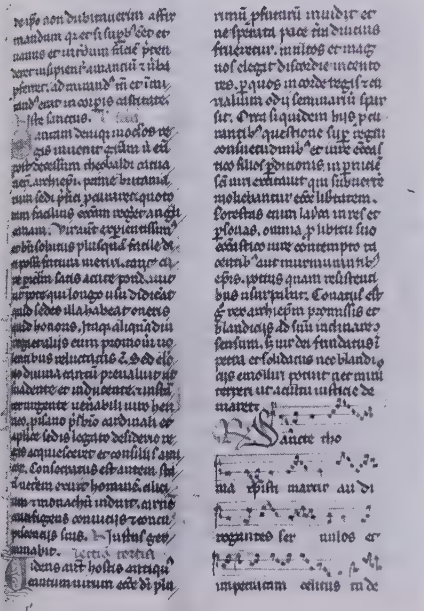
At the end of this period of exile, a personal friend of Becket's, companion of his misfortunes, made himself interpreter of his master's feelings in the most moving terms : " Ah ! " he exclaims, " We have made trial of the truth of the old saying, ' Sweet France ! ' and attest it wholeheartedly : yes, France is sweet, truly sweet ; I have already declared and I repeat it, love binds me to sweet France ! " And again he cries : " O sweet, sweet, most sweet France ! We have tasted its sweetness, we have grown drunk upon it and have satiated ourselves with it ! "

Yet, the gates of the cloister closed against him, Becket could seldom put to use the generosity of the people of Sens. He took up once more the austere life he had led among the monks of Pontigny. He wished to share the cell which was offered him with his old master, Robert of Merton, who had become his chaplain and his most intimate friend. Thanks to the revelations of this companion in exile, on whose discretion Becket could rely during his lifetime, the mortifications which the Archbishop imposed upon himself became known after the dramatic events of 1170. As soon as Thomas saw his chaplain asleep, he would leave his monk's palliasse and set himself to prayer. Broken with fatigue, he would stretch himself on the ground to snatch a few moments' sleep ; then, waking his friend, he would beg him to discipline him. He divided his days between prayer and study, being fond of withdrawing into the little chapel of St John near the dormitory. Towards midday he celebrated mass and then took his modest meal, using, to drink a little wine, not a priceless goblet but a mug of wood.

While historians set at Pontigny the dream in the course of which Thomas Becket received the revelation of his tragic end—a dream which he confided shortly afterwards to the Abbot of Vauluisant —the chronicle of St Columba, written in the 17th century by Dom Cotron, a monk of the monastery, describes a strange vision with which the saint is said to have been favoured during his stay at the abbey. " One night as I was in the church of St Columba at my orisons, there appeared presently to me the Blessed Virgin Mary, who wore on her breast a lump of bronze. Placing it in the ampulla she gave me, she spoke, in the form of a command, the following words : ' This is the unction with which the Kings of England must be anointed : not those who reign now but those who shall reign . . . the first among them will regain peacefully and without violence the lands of Normandy and of Aquitaine which his predecessors will have lost. This king will be great among kings, and will build a multitude of churches in the Holy Land . . . as for you, you will die a martyr to preserve the rights of the Church . . . ' "







Treasury of Sens Cathedral
A Thirteenth Century Breviary
Office of St Thomas of Canterbu

Even if contemporary authors have given rein to their love of the marvellous, it is permissible to consider these visions granted to the future martyr as authentic.

Approaches towards a reconcilation with Henry II having miscarried on account of the King's demands and the Archbishop's refusal to accede to them, Thomas Becket brought down upon himself the wrath of the King of France, who was angered because his mediation proved fruitless. Becket returned to Sens crushed beneath the weight of his sorrow ; the hospitality of the region must have then seemed to him even more precious, but would not the death, at the beginning of 1168, of the Metropolitan Hugh de Toucy put an end to it ?

The election of a successor happily allayed Becket's fears. Guillaume de Champagne had for a long time undertaken the defence of the Primate of England, and once installed at Sens he did not cease to display his loyalty, taking pains to counterbalance the influence of Henry II's ambassadors at the Roman court. Eventually it was thanks to the active intervention of the Archbishop of Sens, and after protracted negotiations, that peace was made between the King of England and Thomas Becket, who returned to his cathedral on November 1st, 1170. He left at Sens an undying memory which the impact of the news of his tragic death was to increase still more.

Outraged by the boldness of the murderers and stunned by the loss of his friend, Guillaume de Champagne was one of the first to write to the Pope to denounce the assassination perpetrated on December 29th, 1170. He was among the first also to ask that the name of the glorious martyr should be inscribed in the catalogue of the saints.

The cult which the church of Sens came to dedicate to Thomas of Canterbury was not to fall into decline throughout the centuries, and even in their cathedral itself the most distinguished bishops of Sens give him precedence.

Becket is present everywhere in the life of the metropolitan see of Sens. For eight centuries, missals and breviaries have recounted his merits and recommended the faithful to his intercession. One of the four famous stained glass windows of the first years of the 13th century is dedicated to him, and traces the phases of his return to England and his tragic end. Art historians find pleasure in recognising with what attention to historical truth, even in the smallest detail, these scenes have been treated.

The statue of the prelate standing in the romanesque arcade beneath this window recalls to each generation, by means of its moving portraiture, the gentleness and goodness of the English primate. A little further on, in the ambulatory, a chapel is consecrated to him, and Becket has figured in stained glass of the 14th century and onward.

The 19th century altar is decorated with bas reliefs illustrating his martyrdom ; a canvas above it, of the 18th century, is the work of the painter Bonnieu, who wished to evoke in the style of his time the moving encounter of the exile with the pope, in the course of which Becket attempted to return to Alexander III his pastoral ring. Finally, a huge painting, dating from 1844, illustrates the tragic episode of December 29th, 1170.

The cathedral at Sens preserves in its treasury with jealous care the pontifical vestments—chasuble, stole, maniple and alb—used by the Archbishop during his time at Sens, which an inventory of 1446 designates under the title, " Chapelle de Monsieur St Thomas de Canturbérie . . . " The martyrdom of St Thomas is portrayed also in the embroidery of an impressive mitre of the 13th century.

At the moment when the Church of England is about to celebrate the eighth centenary of the death of its glorious martyr, the city of Sens is proud and happy to be able to offer so many moving testimonies which are likewise witnesses of an undying affection. Nor has Canterbury itself forgotten the hospitality offered to its exiled bishops.

May these reciprocal sentiments renew between the two churches bonds of the most active and lasting friendship.

ACROSS FRANCE IN THE STEPS OF THOMAS BECKET

by F. A. Batisse

The murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket in Canterbury Cathedral on December 29th, 1170, was one of the most important events of mediaeval history. Its impact was immense both upon public opinion at the time and upon the course of history during the following centuries.

Thomas Becket's life (1118-1170) was not an ordinary one. In the service of the Archbishop of Canterbury he rose to the position of Archdeacon ; then for six years he was Chancellor to Henry II, King of England, and in accordance with the wishes of the latter was finally nominated Archbishop of Canterbury in 1162. At this point, because of growing dissent concerning jurisdiction, the two men ceased to be friends : the differences became more and more numerous between the absolute king and the Archbishop who was dedicated to safeguarding the rights of the Church.

Finally, the Archbishop was accused of treason, but he left secretly for France to appeal to the Pope himself in November, 1164. Open hostility between King and Archbishop continued for six years, until both sides were apparently reconciled in 1170. The Archbishop returned to England at the beginning of December, 1170 but before the end of the month he was murdered in his cathedral by four knights of King Henry II.

Every English schoolchild is aware of these historical facts ; from Chaucer to Eliot, English literature and the theatre have referred to these events whilst even the cinema has shown an interest in Becket.

In France St Thomas of Canterbury was for a long time one of the most popular saints, as is shown by the many texts, pictures, stained glass windows, statues and monuments all over the country. St Thomas's chapels still exist today as far apart as Brittany, Lyon and the Massif Central.

One reason for such widespread fame is that Thomas Becket spent fifteen very important years of his life in France :

—he studied for two years in PARIS and returned there several times afterwards ;

—most of his time as Chancellor of the King of England was spent in NORMANDY, birth-place of his parents ;

—whilst in exile, he often went to the LOIRE COUNTRY, on the borders of the kingdoms of England and France, in attempts to settle his differences with the King of England ;

—BURGUNDY was his land of exile from 1164 until 1170 and SENS cathedral served as a model for that of CANTERBURY, which combined in a single monument a memorial to both the exile and the martyr.

THOMAS BECKET IN PARIS

As a Student in the Latin Quarter

The young Thomas was just nineteen years old when he went to study in Paris at the recommendation of the Canons of St Paul's in London.

The schools of Paris had been of high repute for thirty years. At that time the school of dialectics of the Canons of Notre Dame Cathedral—located on the present-day site of the RUE DU CLOITRE NOTRE DAME—had just lost its most brilliant master, Abélard, famous both for his learning and for his unhappy love for Héloïse.

Master Abélard had carried out his teaching beyond the PETIT PONT across the river SEINE, on the gentle slope of the hill on which stood the abbey of SAINTE GENEVIEVE. Here masters and students came from all over Europe and since their common language was Latin the place came to be known as the Latin Quarter. The present RUE GALANDE is named after an English scholar, Jean de Garland, who taught in the area.

It was in Paris that Thomas met two lifelong friends : Robert de Melun, his favourite tutor, whom he brought to London and later made Bishop of Hereford ; and John of Salisbury, one of the greatest humanists of the Middle Ages, who became Becket's secretary and stood by him at the moment of his death.

One of the bas-reliefs on the south door of NOTRE DAME in Paris, which depicts scenes in the lives of young scholars, may well have some connection with the story of the ' Parlement d'Amour ' held by the students, at which young Thomas is said to have chosen the Virgin Mary as his ' lady '.

As Chancellor at the Temple

Becket had very happy memories of his student days in Paris. Twenty years later, at the height of his career as Chancellor to the King of England, he returned to the French capital in the summer of 1158 on an official mission as the King's envoy ; he took the opportunity of making gifts to English students and paying their debts. Thomas had been sent to the French court to negotiate a marriage between Prince Henry, King Henry's son, and the young Princess Margaret of France. Becket's success in his mission was far less remembered than the magnificence of his entourage which greatly impressed the Parisians.

Apart from the name of the TEMPLE, nothing now remains of the Templars' convent where Chancellor Becket was given hospitality and accommodation.

The Archbishop in Montmartre

Another ten years elapsed and the masters of the Paris schools were requested to intervene in order to resolve the differences between the King and the Archbishop. A meeting was arranged for

November 18th, 1169, in the presence of the King of France, Louis VII in the abbey-church of ST PIERRE in MONTMARTRE, which still stands today, next to the 19th century Basilica of the Sacred Heart.

However, the conference broke up and such was the deadlock between the opposing sides that the four year old prince Philip of France, the future King Philip Augustus, who attended the meeting, feared for the Archbishop's life and leapt forward to protect him !

It was probably at that moment that Henry II decided to have his own son crowned co-regent as soon as possible, even without the Archbishop's consent. At the same time the King put into force, with extreme rigour, the ' Ten Ordinances ', one of these ordering the immediate return to England of all English students in Paris ; those who did not return were exiled and lost their scholarships. It was from that time that OXFORD, which until then had been relatively unknown, became an ever growing centre of learning.

Saint Germain L'Auxerrois

One of the first student colleges in Paris was founded in 1187 by Count Robert de Dreux, brother of the French King, Louis VII, and was named after Saint Thomas, hence the name of the College of Saint Thomas of the Louvre. Nothing now remains of this college, but in the neighbouring church of SAINT GERMAIN L'AUXERROIS there was formerly a chapel dedicated to the Saint by the other brother of King Louis VII, who was Archbishop of Sens. This church still has stained-glass windows depicting Saint Thomas the Apostle, perhaps not without a link with the Canterbury Martyr-Saint.

Notre Dame de Paris

Saint Thomas was soon to have a place in the cathedral of Notre Dame, the reconstruction of which had been started in 1163, the year before Becket's flight : however, there are unfortunately very few memorials to the Saint in this fine gothic building on the Ile de la Cité.

In 1163, in fact, when Becket, as Archbishop of Canterbury, went to the Papal Council of Tours, Pope Alexander III consecrated the gothic choir of the abbey SAINT GERMAIN DES PRES which still stands today, and laid the foundation stone of the new cathedral of NOTRE DAME. There, one month before his death, the Archbishop was to bid farewell to the Bishop of Paris, Maurice de Sully, and embrace him with the words ' I am going to England to die '. Therefore, no sooner had he been canonised than he was remembered not only through the stained-glass windows of the new cathedral but also through the chapel in the south aisle which is now dedicated to Saint Peter.

In his youth, Becket had also witnessed the evolution of a new style of architecture which reached its height of perfection in NOTRE DAME, the style now known as gothic and called then the ' French ' style. The prototype had been the abbey-church of SAINT DENIS, the facade of which had been reconstructed by Abbot Suger in 1137 in a style hitherto unknown, with great carved portals and a central rose-window : this was the first of the imposing ‘ gothic ’ façades. Suger then constructed the lightest choir that had been seen up to that time, with slender pillars and multi-coloured stained-glass windows. Becket accompanied the Archbishop of Canterbury, Theobald of Bec, to the solemn consecration of the abbey church in 1144.

The museums of Paris possess no less than seven reliquaries depicting scenes from the life of Thomas. A further seven can be found in various provincial museums, including those of Lyon, Clermont-Ferrand, Limoges and Guéret, which means that France possesses half of the surviving 13th century Limoges reliquaries connected with the Martyr Saint. Four of the remainder may be found in London museums.

In fact, souvenirs of Becket in Paris would have been even more numerous if the Archbishop had spent his years of exile in the capital city of France instead of in Burgundy, where he was attracted by another famous exile, Pope Alexander III. It was to Paris that the three sons of the King of England later fled one after the other— one of these, Geoffrey, died in Paris and was buried in the choir of the newly built cathedral. Queen Eleanor herself also attempted to flee to Paris.

Ile de France

At CHARTRES, a plaque recently placed near the magnificent ‘portail royal ’, constructed during the period 1135-1165, commemorates the fact that one of Becket’s closest friends, John of Salisbury, became Bishop of the diocese in 1176. He died there in 1180 and his sarcophagus can be found in the nearby abbey of Josaphat at LEVES.

Becket must certainly have seen the celebrated ‘ façade ’ with its sculptured doors, stained-glass windows and bell-towers which are the gems of this unique architectural ensemble of Chartres.

In the Chapel of the Confessors on the right of the north transept, a magnificent stained-glass window dating from the year 1206 depicts 25 episodes in the life of the Saint. The corner pillar of the south porch which dates from 1224-1250 has on its east side a capital which depicts only two of the four men who murdered Becket !

At CREPY EN VALOIS (Oise), the spire of the church of Saint Thomas is a reminder of the chapel built in 1181 by Count Philippe of Alsace. The Count received the Archbishop at Crépy and went on a pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1177 before leaving on a crusade.

THOMAS BECKET IN NORMANDY

It was in Normandy that Becket spent most of his career as Chancellor to the King of England, from 1156 to 1162. Normandy was not only the cradle of the dynasty of the Norman kings of England, but also the geographical centre of their territories which stretched from Scotland to the Pyrenees.

The Chancellor accompanied his master the King on nearly all his many journeys across the province, and this is why Normandy has such a large number of associations with Thomas Becket.

Becket's parents also came from Normandy. The name Becket itself is derived from the Norman word BEC meaning a brook and is commonly found in place-names throughout Normandy, such as LE BEC-HELLOUIN near Brionne (Eure), whose great abbey produced three Archbishops of Canterbury : Lanfranc, St Anselm and Theobald, the predecessor and benefactor of Thomas Becket.

The exact origins of Gilbert Becket, Thomas' father, are somewhat obscure. It could be that he came from Le Bec and was nicknamed ' Becket ' indicating that he hailed from that particular place. On the other hand he may have been born in TIERCEVILLE near Bayeux, as was Archbishop Theobald, or even in Rouen and his wife in Caen.

Barfleur

The first contact between the Chancellor and the country of his ancestors probably took place in January, 1156 at BARFLEUR, at that time the main port of Normandy, where King Henry II and his queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, embarked many times to cross the Channel en route to Southampton. No doubt the sad memory of the sinking of the ' White Ship ' in 1120, with the only son of King Henry I on board, belonged already to the distant past.

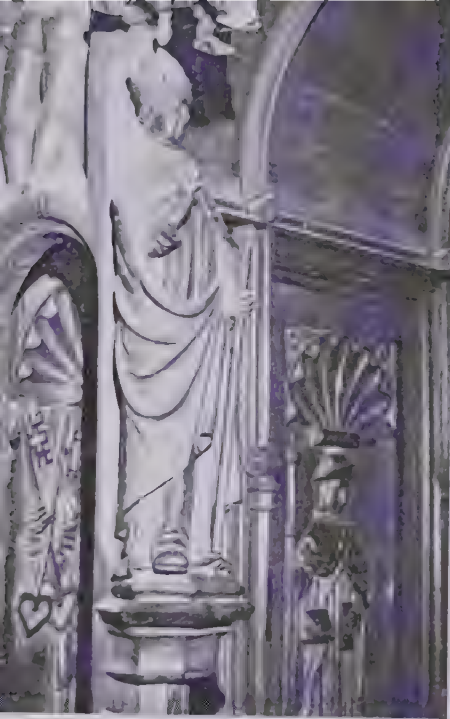
Later Philip the Fair, the French king, built a priory in Barfleur dedicated to Saint Thomas of ' CANTORBERY ', A religious brotherhood was also established there by King Edward III after his landing in Normandy in 1346. Barfleur still has a ' RUE SAINT THOMAS '.

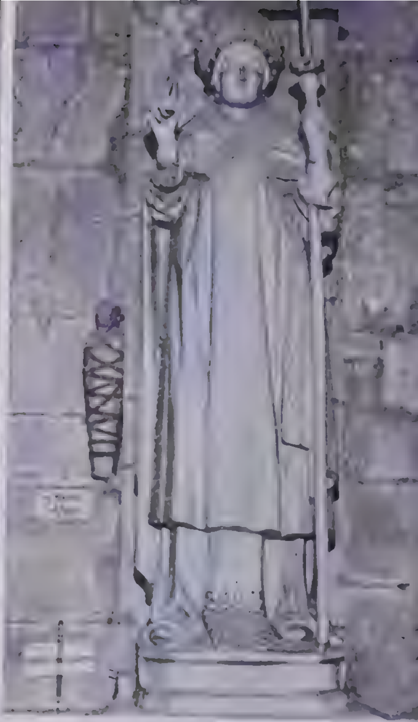
Rouen

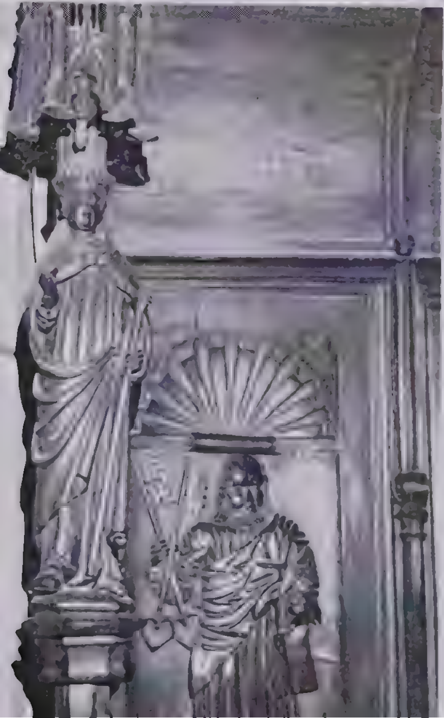
ROUEN, capital city of the Dukes of Normandy together with Caen, has two churches associated with the Saint.

One is the church of SAINT-JACQUES, built around 1135, which was the chapel of the leper hospital of Mont-aux-Malades, now MONT SAINT AIGNAN : four bays of the romanesque nave with their massive pillars are still standing. Chancellor Becket became a friend of Prior Nicolas of Mont-aux-Malades when the former was ill throughout the winter of 1160-61 in the priory of Saint-Gervais in Rouen.

Becket had been to Rouen many times as Chancellor ; as Archbishop he returned to Rouen for the last time at the end of his exile in November, 1170, in the hope of meeting King Henry II and returning to England with him, as had finally been agreed at







*Church at Cuiseaux,
Saône-et-Loire, France*

*Left : Two Wooden Statues of
St Thomas of Canterbury
(15th Century), Choir Stalls*

*Above : Wooden Statue of
St Thomas of Canterbury at the
Entrance to the Choir*

Fréteval. However, Henry did not arrive and Becket returned alone to Canterbury, a prey to the gravest premonitions.

In 1174 King Henry II decided to rebuild the leper-hospital and to dedicate it to the Martyr-Saint. The well-preserved church known as SAINT THOMAS DE CANTORBERY has a romanesque nave and choir which was begun in 1176 and later altered in the English style to give a flat chevet. A neighbouring street still bears the name RUE SAINT THOMAS.

A stained-glass window in the ambulatory of the beautiful gothic church of SAINT OUEN depicts the life of St Thomas and the museum in Rouen has an alabaster on the same theme.

There is also a Society of Saint Thomas of ‘ Cantorbéry ’.

Avranches

At the other end of Normandy, AVRANCHES possesses a striking memorial of the tragedy. Here, on May 21st, 1172, before a huge crowd massed in front of the cathedral, Henry II knelt and received absolution from the Legates of the Pope, and this event is commemorated by an expiatory tablet on the very spot of the king's penance. Before receiving absolution the King had to swear that he had neither ordered nor desired the death of the Archbishop and that the event had caused him immense grief.

It was in Avranches also, in September, 1158, that Chancellor Becket led the royal army against Duke Conan of Brittany.

Other Places in Normandy

Thomas Becket is remembered all over Normandy :

—he certainly went to MONT SAINT MICHEL at the end of 1158 with the kings of France and England, during a brief reconciliation between the two kings, returning afterwards to the abbey of BEC ;

—in 1161 in the church of Notre-Dame-sur-l'Eau in DOMFRONT (Orne) he probably attended the christening of Eleanor, daughter of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, who was later to become Queen of Castile and mother of the famous French queen Blanche of Castile ;

—he supervised reconstruction work in the castles of CAEN and GISORS : the keep at Gisors was called St Thomas's Tower because its chapel was built by Henry II in expiation of the murder ;

—in FALAISE, in the castle of William the Conqueror, on a May day in 1162, King Henry II told his Chancellor that he himself had chosen him as Archbishop ;

—in the hospital at LISIEUX are preserved liturgical ornaments worn by the Archbishop when he said mass in the chapel in 1170 ;

—BAYEUX is not far from the manor of BUR where one day in December, 1170 the King in sudden anger exclaimed, ‘ Will nobody rid me of this turbulent priest ? ’ The cathedral of Bayeux has a late 13th century bas-relief above the porch of the south transept depicting in stone an elaborate chronicle of St Thomas's life ;

—in COUTANCES, in the magnifcent gothic cathedral, a chapel in the north transept is decorated with three 13th century stained-glass windows reflecting every shade of yellow, blue and red, and depicting Becket's return to England ;

—in TOUQUES, between Trouville and Deauville, St Thomas's church is not the only one in France of which it is said that the first stone was laid by the Archbishop himself and that it should be dedicated to the first person martyred after its construction, in this case Thomas Becket ;

—a church in SAINT LO, now destroyed, was named after the Saint in 1174 ;

—in the church of VESLY (Eure) there is a 15th century statue in walnut of St Thomas.

THOMAS BECKET IN THE LOIRE COUNTRY

During his exile, Archbishop Becket several times visited the Loire country, the borderland between English and French territories, to try to bring about a reconciliation with King Henry.

As Chancellor, Becket had often travelled in this area, either when accompanying the king to his birhplace, LE MANS, or to his castle at CHINON, or, as in 1159, journeying with his knights to Poiters just before the Cahors and Toulouse campaign.

He was to be seen again in 1163, when he attended the Papal Council at TOURS. Here the inhabitants recognised the Archbishop as the man who had rebuilt the castle and the keep when he was Chancellor.

However, when the exiled prelate reached Burgundy at the end of 1164, the French king, Louis VII, took every possible step to arrange meetings between the adversaries or their envoys.

Not all the proposed meetings actually took place. One such instance was that of the meeting planned for Easter 1166 in the castle of NOGENT-LE-ROTROU (Eure et Loir), the square keep of which is still standing. The two parties did not come together and Henry returned to his castle at Angers without having seen the Archbishop.

A sequence of eight scenes of Becket's murder is depicted in a stained-glass window of the choir of ANGERS cathedral. The old HOSPITAL OF SAINT JOHN in Angers owes its foundation in 1174 to the repentance of the king. It is the oldest existing hospital in France and one of the finest specimens of that type of architecture.

Again, in July, 1168, King Louis and the Archbishop went to LA FERTE BERNARD (Sarthe) from the neighbouring abbey of TIRON and waited all day for King Henry, who arrived in the evening with his army. Both kings accused each other of treachery and again Becket failed to meet Henry.

Montmirail

It was at MONTMIRAIL (Sarthe), not far from La Ferté-Bernard, that on the day of the Epiphany, January 6th, 1169, King and

Archbishop at last came face to face for the first time for four years. The two royal families attended a conference held in the castle which still exists after noticeable improvements made during the Renaissance.

However, time had not healed their differences and again nothing was achieved. After this unsuccessful meeting peace returned to the little town whose church is yet another witness of this abortive attempt at reconciliation.

Fréteval

Henry and Thomas met again in the same part of France eighteen months later, in July, 1170, at FRETEVAL (Loir-et-Cher). This was a month after the coronation in Westminster Abbey of Henry's son, Prince Henry, as co-regent, about which the Archbishop had not been consulted. Henry came and suggested that both of them forget the past, provided that the Archbishop returned to England. These peaceful prospects were soon to be shattered by grim reality and their meeting-place thus came to be called the Traitor's Field.

Becket had left Fréteval almost won over ; in fact he prepared for his return to England on October 12th and 13th, 1170, at AMBOISE and CHAUMONT. Even though Henry still refused the kiss of peace, he agreed to meet the Archbishop the following month at Rouen where they would embark together and cross the Channel. Thus Henry obtained pardon.

Less than three months after these solemn meetings, four knights of Henry's court murdered the Archbishop in his own cathedral.

In the church of MONTLOUIS-SUR-LOIRE (Indre-et-Loire) two medallion stained-glass windows of the choir recall the scene of the pardon and of the murder.

Nineteen years after these events, Henry died at CHINON, lonely, abandoned by his wife and his rebellious sons, saying to himself, ' Shame on a vanquished king '. After Becket's death, Henry was subjected more and more to treachery and deceit, in spite of appeasements to the memory of the Martyr-Saint such as the foundation of a Carthusian priory at LE LIGET (Indre-et-Loire) in 1176 and the settling of nuns from FONTEVRAULT at Amesbury in England.

Henry lies in Fontevrault abbey (Maine-et-Loire) with his wife Eleanor of Aquitaine, their son Richard the Lionheart and their daughter-in-law, Isabella of Angoulême, wife of John Lackland. In the very heart of Anjou, this magnificent romanesque abbey was rightly called the ' Westminster of the Plantagenets '.

BECKET IN BURGUNDY

Apart from Canterbury, it is in Burgundy and particulary in Sens that Saint Thomas is most forcefully commemorated. This is not surprising if one considers that the Archbishop spent practically the whole of the last six years of his life there, from 1164 to 1170.

In fact, less is known about his two-year stay at the law school of Auxerre and his two trips to Rome through Burgundy.

A Land of Welcome

When Thomas arrived in Burgundy, another illustrious exile was already living there : Pope Alexander III himself, forced to flee from Rome in 1162 by the German Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa. The French king, Louis VII, hastily welcomed the Head of Christendom at SENS, first archiepiscopal see of the kingdom of France.

Like St Thomas, three other Archbishops of Canterbury took refuge in Burgundy ;

—St Anselm had been welcomed in Cluny by the great abbot St Hugh in 1097 ; this is why St Anselm's extension of Canterbury Cathedral around 1100 followed the same pattern as that of Cluny abbey-church itself ;

—two of St Thomas' successors, STEPHEN LANGTON (Archbishop from 1207 to 1228) and ST EDMUND RICH (Archbishop from 1234 to 1240) took refuge at PONTIGNY (Yonne), where Becket himself spent two years as an exile : here also Stephen Langton escaped persecution from John Lackland from 1208 until 1213, but St Edmund Rich died in exile in Soisy (Seine-et-Marne) ; in accordance with his request, the latter was buried in Pontigny church and is still venerated under the name of St Edme.

A Land of Transit

Becket crossed Burgundy for the first time in 1144, when travelling to Rome with Archbishop Theobald. The pilgrim road to Rome included stopovers at shrines of Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries all along the route, such as PONTIGNY, VEZELAY, TOURNUS and CLUNY, all of them wonderful monuments built in the best romanesque or early gothic style.

Becket went to Italy again after the Council of Rheims in 1148 to secure papal approval for the Angevin claim to the English crown.

The following year Becket completed his legal training at the law school of the abbey SAINT GERMAIN of AUXERRE whose 12th century steeple still overlooks the buildings which have been converted into a hospital.

Pontigny

The exiled Archbishop stayed at the Cistercian abbey of PONTIGNY (Yonne) for two years, from the end of November, 1164, until November 11th, 1166.

One month after his flight from England, the fugitive reached Sens and made an appeal before Pope Alexander III. The Pope, being in exile himself and not prepared to incur Henry's wrath, did not keep the Archbishop in his court but sent him to Pontigny, forty miles from Sens.

Here was being built one of the greatest and still best preserved Cistercian abbeys of France. St Bernard of Clairvaux himself had founded the monastery in 1114 but it developed so quickly that the abbey had to be rebuilt on a much larger scale during the time of Becket's exile, with a church as large as Notre Dame of Paris. The simplicity and dignity of the architecture at Pontigny reflect the the ideals of the monks who welcomed Becket and his friends.

In fact, Becket was soon joined in exile by a great many of his friends and their relatives, all victims of Henry's reprisals.

The Archbishop became the friend of Abbot Guichard and lived the severe life of the Cistercians for two years, devoting himself to prayer, the study of theology and canon law and to writing numerous letters in justification of his actions.

From Pontigny, he travelled to Clermont-Ferrand to attend a Council, to Gisors (Eure) and Nogent-le-Rotrou (Eure et Loir) in a vain attempt to meet King Henry, and to Vézelay (Yonne) to excommunicate his adversaries. At VEZELAY on Whitsunday, June 12th, 1166, the Archbishop proclaimed the terrible sentence in front of a vast crowd which thronged the huge romanesque nave of SAINTE MADELEINE, one of France's most beautiful monastic churches.

It was in Burgundy again, at CLAIRVAUX on Palm Sunday, 1169, that the Archbishop excommunicated the Bishop of London, Gilbert Foliot. Sentence was proclaimed in St. Paul's London, on Ascension Day.

Becket was forced to leave Pontigny when the Cistercian Chapter General yielded to Henry's threats to expel all Cistercians from England if ' his enemy ' did not leave the abbey.

Sens

Becket left Pontigny therefore on November 11th, 1166, and accepted the shelter offered by Louis VII, the French king, in the Benedictine abbey of SAINTE COLOMBE in the vicinity of SENS. Little now remains of the abbey, but the site is perpetuated by the rest home which stands on its former site.

The cathedral of SAINT ETIENNE of Sens, which is particularly rich in souvenirs of the Martyr-Saint, was built mainly between 1130 and 1170 and had just been consecrated by the Pope when Becket arrived in Burgundy. It was the first completely gothic cathedral by virtue of its unity, verticality and magnitude.

One might say that the Archbishop is still present in this cathedral that he knew so well :

—a late 12th century statue stands in a niche in the ambulatory and comes from the house traditionally said to have been inhabited by St Thomas during his stay at Sens ;

—a series of stained-glass medallion windows against a background of foliage depict thirteen scenes of the last days of the Saint's life after his departure from Sens ; these windows date from circa 1190 and may have been inspired by models made for Canterbury Cathedral ;

—liturgical ornaments are preserved in the Cathedral Treasury, as well as a 13th century reliquary containing remains ;

—a 14th century chapel is dedicated to St. Thomas.

—a large painting of the assassination by Camille Boucher, dated 1846, hangs in the ambulatory.

Sens and Canterbury

In a review of the iconography of St. Thomas, Sens Cathedral must unquestionably hold pride of place, but perhaps the greatest tribute was paid to Sens by CANTERBURY itself as early as 1174, only four years after the martyrdom.

Pope Alexander III canonised the Archbishop on February 21st, 1173, and King Henry made an act of public penance to Becket's tomb in Canterbury Cathedral on July 12th, 1174.

Two months later, on September 5th, 1174, a great fire devastated the choir of the old romanesque cathedral of Canterbury. Everyone believed that the flames purified the place where the crime was committed, thus permitting the construction of a fitting memorial to the new Martyr Saint.

The work was immediately entrusted to WILLIAM OF SENS, the architect who had completed Sens Cathedral just before the Saint's exile.

English historians have always considered William of Sens as one of the great gothic builders : he is represented among the greatest artists of all time on the bas-reliefs of the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park, London.

Canterbury Cathedral has a French gothic choir on the pattern of Sens, with sexpartite vaults and capitals at the top of great pillars.

When William of Sens fell fifty feet from the scaffolding to the floor beneath, one of his craftsmen, WILLIAM THE ENGLISHMAN, took his place and finished the choir where St Thomas' relics were placed on July 7th, 1220.

It can truly be said that in Canterbury a new Sens Cathedral perpetuated, in a unique memorial, both the exile and the martyr. Thus Burgundian art added another unalterable French stamp on the English religious metropolis which had already adopted the two transepts of Cluny at the time of St Anselm.

Another English cathedral, that of LINCOLN, followed the example of Canterbury and Sens. In 1192 the French master Geoffroy de Noyers rebuilt the damaged portion of Lincoln Cathedral at the request of Bishop HUGH OF AVALLON, known as St Hugh of Lincoln. Hugh had been a prior of the Grande Chartreuse and then of Witham Charterhouse in Somerset, another expiatory establishment founded by Henry II.

ACROSS FRANCE

After such a tribute as that paid by Canterbury to Sens, it seems vain to continue to list St Thomas's memories across France. However, memorials exist from north to south and from east to west.

From North to South

When he first landed in France, Becket found shelter at SAINT OMER (Pas-de-Calais) in the abbeys of Clairmarais and St Bertin.

Then he met the French king at SOISSONS (Aisne) and asked for his protection. He returned there in June, 1166, to St Drausin's shrine, before going to Vézelay to pronounce the excommunications: very little remains of Notre-Dame church, the site of St. Drausin's tomb ; the tombstone is now in the Louvre Museum in Paris.

The Archbishop of LYON, the former Abbot Guichard of Pontigny, was one of the exiled Becket's friends. In 1168 the first chapel of Our Lady was built at the summit of the hill of FOURVIERE. The adjoining chapel was named after St Thomas in 1190. It is said that the exile went to Lyon and was given a manor at QUINCIEUX ten miles north of Lyon, where monks from Canterbury were later to settle for a time.

In CLERMONT-FERRAND the exiled Archbishop attended a Council in 1165 ; Franciscan friars consecrated their church of Montferrand to St Thomas in 1240.

AVRIEUX (Savoie), on the Mont-Cenis road, has six 17th cenutry bas-reliefs dedicated to the life of the Saint.

In the Aveyron at BRUSQUE a small chapel which formerly possessed relics of St Thomas has recently been restored.

From East to West

The Council of REIMS in 1148 gave Becket the opportunity of seeing Archbishop Theobald leaving England secretly without royal consent, to attend a papal Council. For this Archbishop Theobald was prepared to suffer exile and Becket was not to forget it.

At the other end of France, in Brittany, the churches of LANDERNEAU and BENODET were named after St Thomas in 1218 and 1231 respectively.

Such a long list of souvenirs is worthy of attention on the occasion of the eight hundredth anniversary of an event which had immense impact.

Is it not a good opportunity to take up the pilgrim's staff again and to travel across France in the steps of a man who left such an indelible mark ?

ST. THOMAS AT HOME AND ABROAD

by Gerald Peacocke

(with apologies to Erasmus of Rotterdam)

The writer and a friend are walking near Canterbury on a beautiful June day. The friend speaks first :

Have you passed in neglect Thomas of Canterbury, the Archbishop ?

The very last I should neglect. The subject is of great interest, and the pilgrimage has been in high estimation.

I am desirous to hear about it if it is not troublesome.

Nay, I shall be gratified by your listening. You will understand that pilgrims began to flock to Canterbury within hours of the foul murder and so continued until the Reformation and the destruction of the Shrine by King Henry VIII in the year 1538. Our city was during those 368 years a major centre of Christian pilgrimage, ranking with Rome and Jerusalem, no less.

Why was so much honour bestowed upon so controversial a man ?

There was no escaping the powerful influence of his stubborn personality, his deep conviction of the rightness of his cause, or above all his dramatic death. Thus it was that he inspired the simple folk who thronged to his tomb and prayed for his intercession : as at Lourdes in our own day, they came in passionate hope of miraculous healing, they begged for help in every task and enterprise, and many a weird and quaint tale is told of St. Thomas in this vein.

You intrigue me. Can you recount any such tales ?

It is invidious to choose from among so many sources. You may see many miracles for yourself in the glorious windows of the Cathedral and see them described in Rackham's book, or read the Chroniclers of the time, or indeed go farther afield and peruse the Icelandic Saga. Or perhaps you would prefer to obtain access to a judicious posy of miracles gathered and soon to be privately produced by the College of Art in our city in collaboration with the Pater Society of the King's School ? For all of these the Cathedral Library is at the disposal of the serious student—such as you.

You fire my curiosity and I shall enrol forthwith—but have you nothing yourself to relate ?

You are persistent! Let three examples suffice, each of a different kind. The first tells of a happy event that occurred to the Archbishop himself. You are aware of the report that from the day of his consecration he was never to be parted from his hair shirt and drawers. It will therefore not surprise you that with such constant wear the drawers should require, by and by, the attention of needle and thread. It is said that to the discomfited Archbishop, loth to relinquish his garment and unable to mend it for himself, there appeared the Queen of Heaven who patched the episcopal drawers with exquisite skill.

How fortunate ! What comes next ?

The simplicity of the peasant pilgrim is discernible in the tale of the farmer and his wife who, on hearing of the wonders of the Saint's Shrine, wished themselves to go on pilgrimage to Canterbury. But, alas, they lacked the money for the journey. So the wife resolved to brew her best beer and sell it. She set about her task, but alas again, the beer would not ferment. In her despair, a friend came to visit her husband, and on hearing the predicament, generously offered the wife a drop of the Martyr's diluted blood from the ampulla he had recently brought from Canterbury. Lo ! the blood fermented the beer, the best the wife had ever made. This was promptly and profitably sold and the happy couple duly completed their pilgrimage with thanksgiving and thanksoffering.

Simplicity in truth ! But you spoke of a third tale ?

That is so. I wished to quote it for the sake of its extreme quaintness and to demonstrate how in the simple mind the prowess of Thomas the huntsman and hawker could become confused with that of Thomas the miracle worker. You—

How so ?

Pray allow me to tell you. You are doubtless familiar with the story of how the fleeing Archbishop in disguise was recognised by the flashing and expert eye he cast upon a questing hawk. My tale was first told by a thirteenth-century Cistercian monk and copied again and again into handbooks of anecdotes for preachers. I quote it in fifteenth-century English for your amusement : " Som teyme ther was a burd that was lernyd to speke. So on a tyme she flow away in the feldis, and the Goshalk pursweid after hur and wold hafe kyllid hur. And whan she saw hym com, as she was lernyd at home, she began to cry, and sayd: 'Sante Thoma! adiuua me!' 'A ! Saynt Thomas, helpe me!' and onone this Goshalk fell down dead, and this burd esskapid and non harm. Lo, surs, what vertue it is to call on Saynt Thomas, martir of Cantyrbery, in any tribulacion ! "

But were there no loftier pilgrims, no nobler, godlier tales ?

Indeed there were. Men of all stations visited Canterbury's Shrine and eloquent Cathedral : noble knights on their way to the Holy Land, poor peasants, clerks, and every reigning monarch and heir to the throne of England from Henry II to Henry VIII. The greatest occasions were the Jubilee Years, the first of these Cardinal-Archbishop Stephen Langton's magnificent Feast of the Translation of the Saint's remains from the Crypt to the Shrine in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity on July the 7th, 1220. —But let us hope that this Jubilee Year of 1970 will not emulate that of 1220 in one respect !

Why say you so ?

I speak of Archbishop Langton's ill-conceived generosity. True it is that thousands of pilgrims flocked to Canterbury and that the offerings at the Cathedral in that year amounted to the very considerable sum of £1,150. The young King Henry III was present at the Translation, so were the Papal Legate, Pandulph, the Archbishop of Rheims (Canterbury's twin city of today), and more than twenty other prelates of England and France. Unfortunately, it took over twenty, some say forty years, to clear the expenses of hospitality !

But how came Archbishop Langton to cause such extravagance?

I can do no better than to quote Mr. D. J. Hall's *English Mediæval Pilgrimage* : " Wine was free and on all the main roads vast provision had been made ready at inns and monasteries for man and

The Martyrdom : Fourteenth Century Embroidered Mitre
By kind permission of the Bavarian National Museum, Munich

horse. On the London road these were free for the asking at every stage of the journey. This prodigality probably spoiled the innkeepers because later very strict regulations were made in Canterbury about importuning pilgrims, forbidding innkeepers to run out into the road or entice them away from other inns."

I am astonished !

But what a contrast with what was to come !

What is your meaning ?

In 1470, in the last great Jubilee before the desecration, we are told that 150,000 pilgrims came to Canterbury. And on Whitsunday 1520, King Henry VIII with Cardinal Wolsey escorted the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, to Canterbury. Yet twelve years later the total offerings at the Cathedral had shrunk to £10, and within six further years all pilgrimage was halted abruptly by the same King Henry's decree. But of course the most renowned royal pilgrims are those who lie silent in their tombs in the Trinity Chapel of the Cathedral to either side of where the Shrine once stood : King Henry IV beside his Queen, Joan of Navarre, and Edward the Black Prince, husband of Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent.

How came this far-famed warrior to be buried there ?

It was his wish to be laid to rest in the Crypt, in the Chapel of Our Lady Undercroft, not far from his own Chantry Chapel that is used by the French Huguenots' descendants to this day. He had a great affection for Canterbury, and in return its citizens and monks, in admiration, love and gratitude, accorded him the highest honour they could conceive by setting his tomb where now it stands. Prince Edward's last will and testament, couched in noble French, was thus contravened, neither can we now read the simple dignified lines of verse he wished to have inscribed upon his tomb. Yet their spirit pervades all.

Are you able to recite them ?

As I recall, they run so :

" Tu qe passez ove bouche close par la ou cist corps repose,
Entent ce qe te dirray, sicome te dire le fay.
Tiel come tu es, je autiel su ; tu seras tiel come je su ;
De la mort ne pensay je mie, tant come javoy la vie.
En terre avoy grand richesse, dont je y fys grand noblesse,
Terre, mesons, et grand treshor, draps, chivalx, argent, et or,
Mes ore su je povres et cheitifs, profond en la terre gys.
Ma grand beaute est tout alee, ma char est tout gastee.
Moult est etroite ma meson. En moi na si verite non.
Et si ore eusse onqes homme este, si su je ore de tout changee.
Pur Dieu pries au celestien roy, qe mercy eit de l'alme de moy.
Tout cil qi pur moi prieront, ou a Dieu m'acorderont,
Dieu les mette en son paradys, ou nul ne poet estre chetifs."

I may translate them thus :

" You who pass my resting place in silence,
Since well I know the truth, hear what I say.
Such as you are, I was myself ; such as I am so shall you be ;
No thought of death I gave while I had life.
On earth I knew great riches, and nobly did I use them,
Lands, mansions, treasure, horses, silver, gold.
But now, poor and wretched, deep in the earth I lie.
My great beauty is quite gone, my flesh is wasted quite away.
Most narrow is my dwelling. Nothing but truth remains in me.
And if you saw me now I do not doubt that you would say
This never was a man ; so changed am I, quite changed.
For God's sake pray the Heavenly King, that He may have
    mercy on my soul,
And all who pray for me, or commend me unto Him,
May God place them in Paradise, where none can ever
    wretched be."

I find myself much moved . . . But what of Henry II ?

His coming to Canterbury to do public penance is a famous event and caused him to be the first of the long line of royal pilgrims.

Tell me of it.

Henry came to Harbledown where, as Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence informs us, he gave the sum of twenty marks annually in farm fief to the leper hospital of St. Nicholas. Later this sum became Canterbury's to pay, and to this day, once a year, the City Treasurer sends a cheque to the hospital for £13. 6. 8d—one mark being the equivalent of 13/4d., a large sum when this bounty was instituted ! From Harbledown Henry descended to the church of St. Dunstan where he put on his penitential robes and then proceeded barefoot to the Cathedral Crypt and the Martyr's Tomb, where the night-long scourging took place.

Rarely can a monarch have so abased himself !

Truly. But Henry had his reward, for news reached him in Canterbury that, on the very day of his prostration, July 12th 1174, his enemy, King William the Lion of Scotland, was taken prisoner at Alnwick in Northumberland, and thus was crushed a dangerous revolt. You may imagine the acclamation that greeted tidings of this victory, and how it was attributed to the intervention of the appeased Martyr.

That I can readily. Was Thomas already a Saint at this time ?

He was so. The complexities of canonization were despatched with unprecedented speed and Pope Alexander III proclaimed him Saint Thomas of Canterbury in 1173. Yet this event merely set the seal on what had already been assumed by the pilgrims streaming to Canterbury so soon after the murder.

How so ?

We are told how rapidly the news of the Archbishop's death spread through Christendom and how " all Europe was aghast ".

So it was that his fame and devotion found expression everywhere and multiplied until the years of decline and the coming of the Reformation. In countries like France and Germany the secularization that attended the French Revolution and the rule of the Emperor Napoleon swept aside many further surviving examples of the great medieval cult of our enigmatic Saint. Yet much remains today and many places, for all their emptiness, bear the magical imprints of the past.

Can you tell me of such ?

Let me begin at home. In Canterbury's Cathedral the Altar of the Sword's Point at the scene of the Martyrdom and the great Shrine in the Trinity Chapel are vanished forever, but the void in their place is for our imaginations to fill, and the soaring Quire of the two Williams bears lasting testimony. The chapels of St. Thomas, both that on Old London Bridge and that in the fields North of Canterbury's city walls on what is still called St. Thomas's Hill, these are lost too. But the ruins of the same King William the Lion's great Abbey of St. Thomas at Arbroath still testify that in Scotland too Thomas was held in honour. While in England and Pembrokeshire ("Little England" as it is sometimes called) some 70 Anglican Churches of St. Thomas survive from medieval times.

Are there any such near Canterbury ?

Perhaps it is the looming presence of our great Cathedral that causes the Diocese of Canterbury to number only one among all its churches. But that one is a jewel, set in the mysterious lands of Romney Marsh, at Fairfield. It stands in thoughtful isolation in the open country. No visitor to Canterbury and East Kent should fail to visit this little gem of a church.

What shall he find there ?

Permit me to quote the description of the present incumbent of the group of fine churches in the Marsh, Mr. O'Connor : " The Church of St. Thomas à Becket, Fairfield, is situated on the road between Appledore and Brookland. It stands to the East of this road and is about 3 minutes walk on a good path from the road. The nearest house is about half a mile from the Church and is called Becket Barn. It is certain that a church stood here in the thirteenth century, as there are details of a visitation dated 1294. But this was replaced by a timber and plaster building in the fourteenth century. Extensive restoration was done at the beginning of this century, but a great deal of the original woodwork remains. It is not nailed together but wooden pegged. As recently as ten years ago the area was liable to flood when the only access was by boat. Since then the causeway has been raised and the draining improved. Inside the church, the fifteenth century font is of Kent ragstone and the bowl is heptagonal, which is rare and said to be the only one in Kent. A triple decker pulpit and box pews belong to the eighteenth century. Becket owned the land around this church at one time. It is traditional that he stayed in the neighbourhood during his quarrels with Henry II. At nearby Brookland, in the South-east corner of the church of St. Augustine, there is a wall-painting of the murder of Becket in Canterbury Cathedral. Both churches are unique and well worthy of a visit."

I shall certainly visit them both. But you spoke earlier of London Bridge. What remains in London to recall Thomas Becket ?

Sundry churches had connexions with him. In the Old Kent Road, on the pilgrims' route, hard by a St. Thomas watering-place, stands the Thomas à Becket public house, famed for its boxing gymnasium. Three major institutions are indissolubly linked to his name. Let me remind you that the hospital of St. Thomas in Lambeth—originally at Southwark and the infirmary of the Priory of St. Mary Overie—was set under the patronage of our St. Thomas. As with so many churches, it discreetly changed allegiance to the Apostle in the sixteenth century, yet never forgot its origins, for its chapel of the nineteenth century is dedicated to both Thomases and contains a statuette of Becket. Then, among our famous Guilds, the Brewers' Company have remained faithful to their Patron Saint and traditional Founder. The Mercers' Company are proud that the site of their Hall should be that of Becket's birthplace, later to become the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon (or Acre in the Holy Land), the gift of Thomas's sister Agnes. The Knights of St. Thomas were the only English religious military order to be founded. That they should arise out of the Crusades and Outremer is wholly appropriate to the far-reaching status of St. Thomas, let alone the tradition that his murderers expiated their crime battling in Palestine, and the legend that his mother was a Saracen or Moorish princess. All three that I have mentioned are mindful of their origins in this anniversary year.

And what of other lands ?

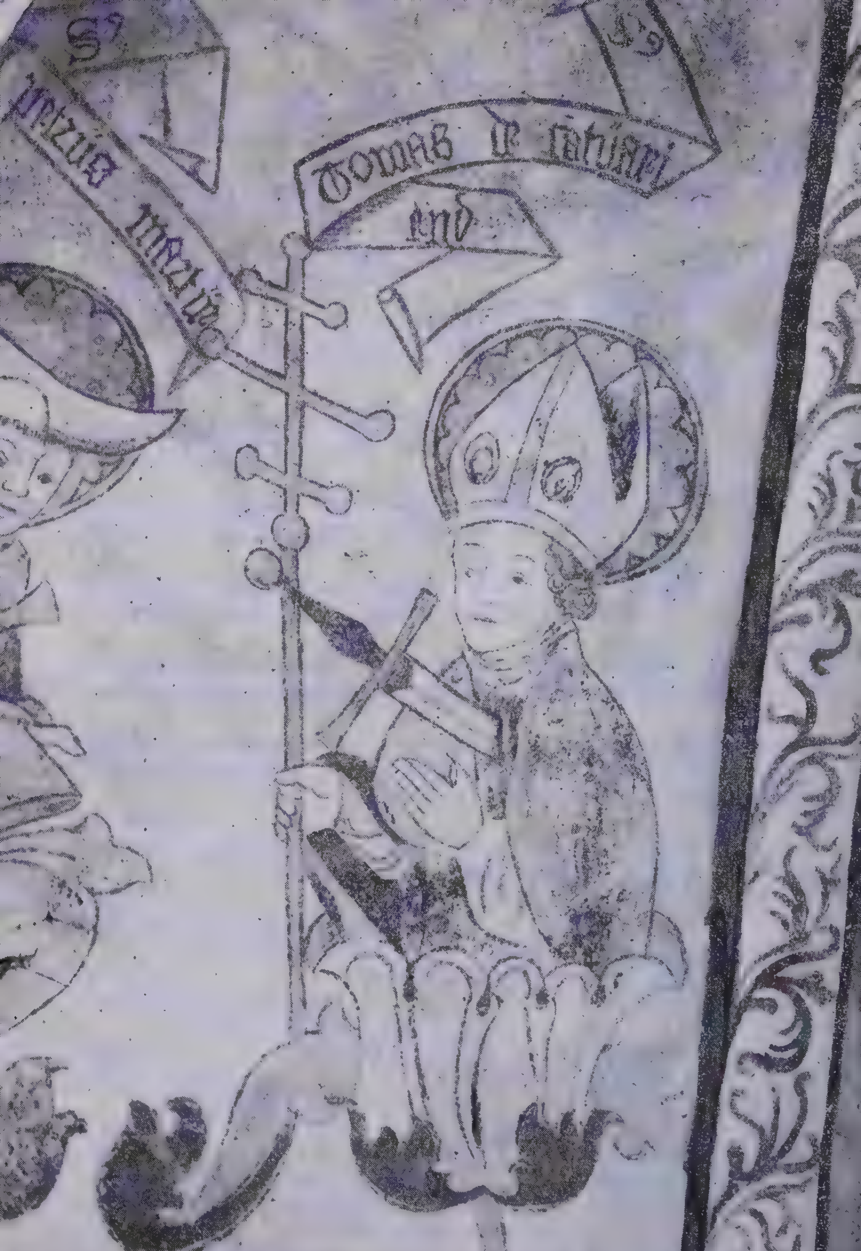
I shall not presume to speak of France, for others more learned than I have done so at great length. So let me cast a brief glance over the map of Europe. It would appear that there were several particular ways in which St. Thomas left his stamp on the European scene : first through the pilgrims thronging to and from Canterbury : secondly through the religious orders, above all the Cistercians who carried his name as they spread across the Continent proud of their hospitality to the exiled Archbishop at lovely, solitary Pontigny ; third through those personally involved, his family, his intimates, friends and enemies, the family of Henry II ; fourthly through the merchants, sailors and travellers for whom he became protector and patron.

Can these strands still be traced ?

They can, and they look fascinating on the map. Let me examine the first two groups I mentioned. We find remains of Cistercian and other devotion all over Central Europe, in Germany, Switzerland and Austria—in towns like Andernach on the Rhine, where the Cistercian convent is of the past and the parish church no longer bears Thomas's name, but a street and a school still do, and town and church have joined in commemoration this year. In Northern Italy we may find a whole cluster of churches of San Tommaso Cantuariense or Martire, on Lakes Como and Garda, at Verona Padua and elsewhere. Indeed, sanctuaries, churches, iconography may be found the entire length of Italy. In Spain, a line of such churches runs along the main North-South route in the province of León, while perhaps the finest wall-paintings to be found anywhere on the theme of the Saint and his death are in the church at Tarrasa near Barcelona. Across the Mediterranean and beyond, the name of St. Thomas figures in the martyrology of the Armenian Church. Far in the North in Scandinavia, the mediaeval links with the English church survive in various forms. The visit to Canterbury by the Norwegian prelate Oeystein in the twelfth century when the Quire was rebuilding, and that of Matthew Paris to Norway in the thirteenth century have left their mark : folk dances, reliquaries, the architecture of Trondheim Cathedral, churches of St. Thomas. Most vivid among these last was a pilgrims' church at Filefjell on the highest part of the main road linking Oslo to Western Norway and the Sognefjord. That church is no more, but it is unforgotten, and it is planned this year to found on the same spot an ecumenical centre.

A fitting memorial in this year of so many events designed to bring Christians together. But what of the other categories you mentioned ?

We are told that in Italy many of the surname Becchetti claim descent from the Saint's family. Henry II's daughters married European princes and remembered their father's ill-fated relationship with Thomas. Thus, at Brunswick in Germany, St. Thomas is one of the patrons of the Cathedral of St. Blasius which contains wall-paintings of the Martyr. And at Monreale Cathedral near Palermo in Sicily, one of the finest mosaic figures of Saints on the wall of the Apse is of our St. Thomas. It is one of the earliest representations that we have. We must also recall Thomas's special devotion to the Trinity that spread with his own cult. It was thus that the Octave of Pentecost, when he was consecrated Archbishop and celebrated his first Mass in the Trinity Chapel of our Cathedral, became an universal feast of the Church under Pope John XXII in the fourteenth century—and so remains. Moreover, Trinity House is there to remind us of this and of the maritime interest in the Saint. Indeed, the mercantile influence is most clearly visible in the sea-ports of the Hanseatic League on the North and Baltic Seas. Our own Merchants Adventurers had a particular devotion and affection for Thomas and strong trading bonds with the Hansa. The most striking example of this is at Hamburg, where is to be found the only Anglican church of St. Thomas Becket outside the British Isles. The remarkable fact is that it was in 1612, in Jacobean, post-Reformation days, that the Senate of Hamburg made over the " Englische Haus " to the use of our merchants. This



St Thomas of Canterbury : Painting on the Vaulting of the Church at Skive, Jutland, Denmark

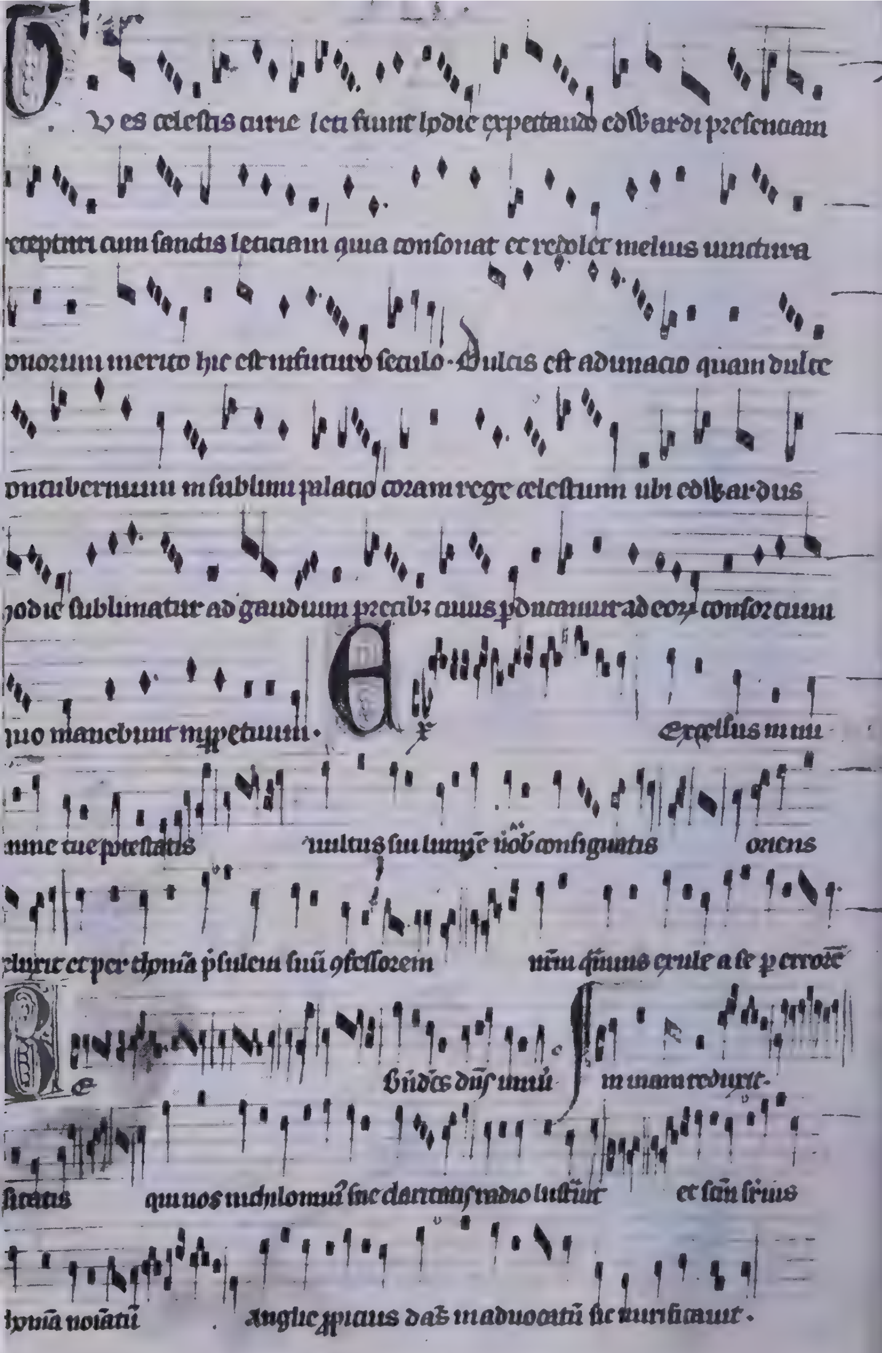
By kind permission of Pastor E. Laursen Vig, Rector of Skive building had a chapel, later replaced by the nineteenth church that flourishes to this day and that was rededicated to St. Thomas after the last war. And all along the sea-coast, at Hamburg itself, Lübeck, Wismar, Danzig (the Gdansk of today), on Danish and Swedish soil, in former Eastern Prussia, various striking examples of iconography have survived. A copy of Bernt Notke of Lübeck's wooden statue in Sweden is in our own Cathedral, as you know. But my favourite is the charming roof-painting in the church of Skive in Northern Jutland, Denmark, which depicts the Martyr, a sword in his breast, rising out of a flower. I can imagine no more affectionate a way of portraying the bloody murder of Canterbury's stormy saint.

I had no notion his cult spread so far and its effects were still so visible.

In some respects it continues, for he is the Protector of the Pastoral Clergy of the Roman Catholic Church and we find his devotion in that Church alive in churches and monasteries not only in Europe but even in the U.S.A. Why, only recently a fine new parish centre was opened at Campbell, California, where the church is in his name. And even the topography can still be altered in his name: at Oshkosh, Wisconsin, on Lake Butte des Morts, the headland Lake Point, on which stands a Benedictine house dedicated to him, is renamed Cape Becket this year.

What else!

Let that suffice. You must understand that it demands diligent study and patient search to trace what remains of our Saint. Churches, buildings, museums, galleries, ruins, wells, locations are everywhere, and the one who would see with his own eyes all that I have catalogued and so much more besides that I cannot include and of which I am ignorant, such a man must travel many thousand miles. But it is late, and I am hot and thirsty. Let us repair to the Bricklayers' Arms in Best Lane, that soon hopes to be renamed the Thomas Becket, there to refresh ourselves and toast the Patron Saint of the Brewers!


Ves celestis curie leti fiunt hodie expectando edwardi presenciam
excepturi cum sanctis leticiam quia consonat et replet melus unctura
suorum merito hic est in futuro seculo · Dulcis est adunacio quam dulce
contubernium in sublimi palacio coram rege celestium ubi edwardus
hodie sublimatur ad gaudium precibus cuius perducimur ad eorum consorcium
quo manebunt in perpetuum ·
Excelsus in nu
mine tue potestatis
vultus sui lumine nobis consignatis
oriens
eluxit et per thomam presulem suum confessorem
nimium quinus exule a se per errore
Benedictus dominus unum
in unam reduxit
sitatis
qui nos nichilominus sue claritatis radio lustravit
et sanctum suum
thomam nominatum
anglie principalis dans in advocatum sic munificavit ·

MUSIC IN HONOUR OF THOMAS BECKET

by Denis Stevens

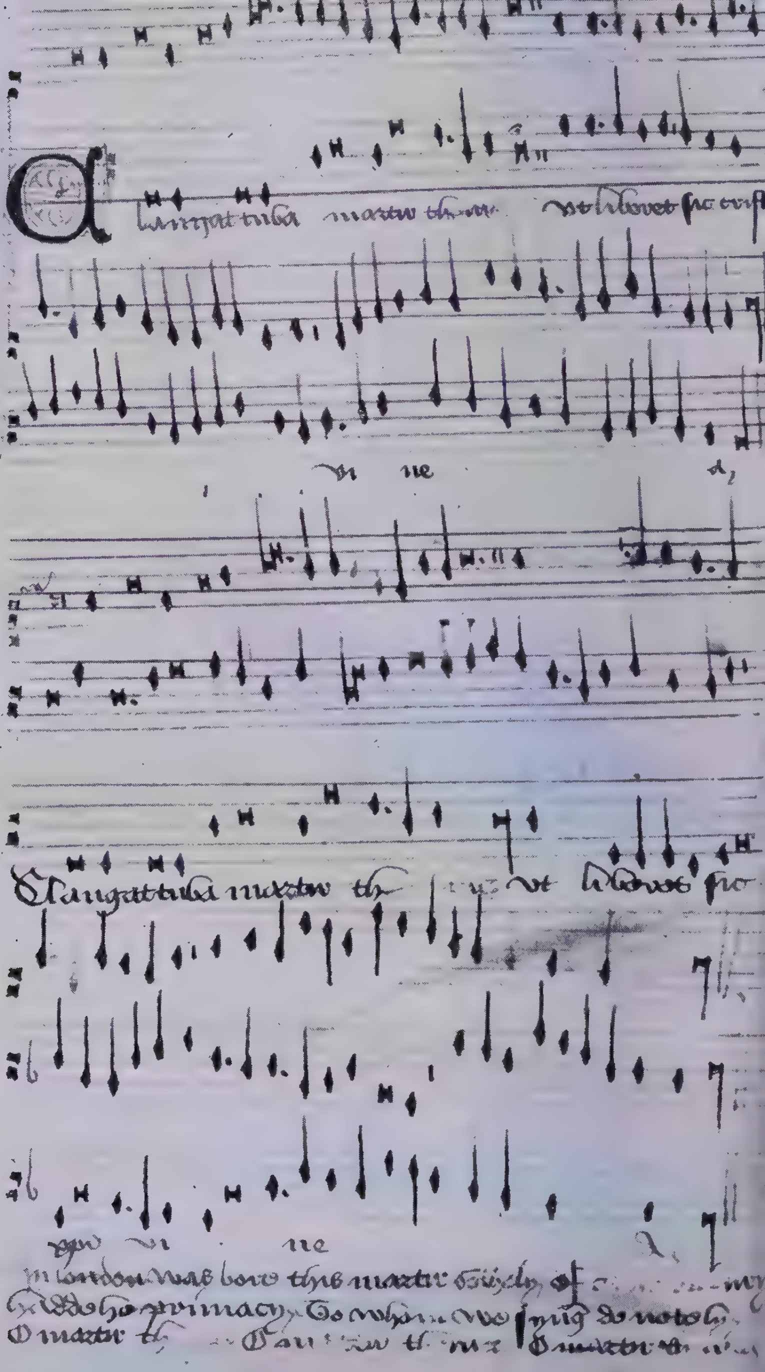
The story of Becket's life and martyrdom, known to scholars from letters, documents, and legends, and known to the public through the media of play, film, and opera, exerted a fascination of an artistic nature for several centuries after his death. Among those fascinated by the complex and dramatic train of events leading up to that ill-starred December day in 1170 were countless artists and craftsmen of many nations, some of whose work is skilfully discussed and illustrated by Dr Tancred Borenius in his iconographical study, *St Thomas Becket in Art* (London, 1932). Many paintings, stained-glass windows, and statues were of course destroyed in the early sixteenth century, especially in England; but sufficient work remains to give a broad impression of the impact made upon lively and imaginative artistic minds. Others who were subject to that impact included among their number poets and musicians, often working together to achieve fine results, yet even now anoymous after the fashion of so many medieval creators of song and rhyme.

While the works of art can be easily perceived, the music composed in honour of Becket cannot be easily heard. Of the twenty compositions collected recently by the present writer, only ten are accessible in modern editions, and some of these are out of print or buried in learned periodicals and monographs. The remaining ten, transcribed and edited from early manuscripts in England, Spain, and Italy, provide much new information about the cult of St. Thomas as it affected musicians, as well as new additions to a repertory whose interest and significance is far greater than its modest size would seem to indicate.*

Published or unpublished, the music in honour of Becket does not readily reveal its existence. The appearance of the name Thomas is in itself no guarantee of association, for there are many motets about Thomas the Apostle and Thomas Aquinas. Nor do the opening words of texts always give away the identity of their subject, as may be seen in such titles as *In Rama sonat gemitus, Christi miles Christo quo militat, Januam quam clauserat fructus edulium*, and *Excelsus in numine*. Careful study of the complete texts is the only certain way to prove a historical link between St Thomas of Canterbury and a given motet, carol or conductus, though in many cases this proof can be confirmed by musical

* An anthology of these compositions, edited by Joan Long, Alexander Blanchly, Cornelia Weininger, and Denis Stevens, will be published by Novello and Co.

Opposite: Two voices from the anonymous motet EXCELSUS IN NUMINE, *from Oxford, New College Ms. 362, fol. 87. The upper voice begins half-way down the page; and in the right-hand margin an attempt has been made to erase the words 'de s[an]c[t]o thoma cant[uariae]'. By kind permission of the Warden and Fellows of New College.*


Clangat tuba martir thoma vt ... sic
Ame
Clangat tuba martir th ... vt ... sic
Ame
In london was bore this martir boldly of ... my
... he primacy To whom we sing devoutly
O martir th ... O martir th

evidence or the attribution of a scribe. In the settings of movements from the Ordinary of the Mass, however, standard texts obviously afford no help, and it becomes necessary to search for other clues. These may be found in titles, in tenor melodies supplied with fragments of texts, or in tenor melodies with no text at all.

Some of these titles, text fragments, and melodies occur as material common to motets and Masses, and they derive without exception from the specially rhymed Offices for the principal feast (December 29) and the Translation (July 7). The words and music for these services were composed for the canonization of the saint in 1173, and for the translation of his remains in 1220, a year which also marked the first of many Jubilees. It is not surprising to find that the very first of this large group of liturgical chants inspired several polyphonic compositions, of which at least five have survived. *Jacet granum*, the responsory sung at the procession to the altar of St Thomas (after Vespers of the Holy Innocents), ranks as one of the most elaborate of its kind. First of all, the entire responsory is sung by cantors and clerics; then follows the verse, and a repeat of the last line of the responsory, *Caelum domo commutans lutea*. This leads directly to the prose, so named through an odd philological quirk, when in fact it consists of poetry; and finally one more repeat of the *Caelum* line. This impressive structure compares the martyred archbishop to the grain smothered by chaff —a just man killed by the lances of villains, a keeper of the vine, a leader in his camp, a labourer on the threshing-floor. In elaborate and often mixed metaphors, the prose sings of the shepherd blowing on his curved trumpet (Becket was well-known in his youth as a trumpeter on the battlefield), the flourishing of the vine of Christ, and the sinful acts of the king. A magnificent three-part setting of the cantors' beginning (*Jacet*) and the verse (*Cadit custos*) was added to the growing collection of polyphonic music assembled in Paris during the early thirteenth century, and by a stroke of good fortune one beautifully illuminated manuscript containing this piece, among many others by Perotin and his followers, came into the hands of Piero de' Medici. The manuscript can be seen in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, in Florence, but there is no reference of St Thomas: only the word *Jacet* identifies it as a setting of the responsory, whose chant sections must of course be used to complete the liturgical scheme of things, since composers were required to set only part of these lengthy texts.

Jacet Granum, without its prose, was also sung as the third responsory of Matins on the day of the principal feast, and at First Vespers of the Translation. The chant, deprived of its words (except for the first two) served as the tenor, or sustaining voice, of a motet

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Opposite: A carol with Latin and English text, CLANGAT TUBA, MARTYR THOMA, *by an unknown composer of the 15th century, from British Museum Add. Ms. 5665, fol. 41v. The name of the saint has been partially obliterated. By kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

written by an unknown poet and composer in the early years of the fourteenth century. The one and only source of this work, which deserves attention on many counts, is a collection of miscellaneous leaves from medieval manuscripts in the library of New College, Oxford. Characterized by smooth, rich, and elegant four-part harmony, this motet presents two texts sung simultaneously by alto voices, supported by a freely composed tenor and by the tenor of the responsory. These supporting parts are presumably instrumental, and could be effectively played on any wood or stringed instruments of tenor range. But what if only one player were available ? The composer had evidently considered this possibility, for he added an extra part which skilfully combines the important notes of the two interdependent tenors, thus making a three-part performance possible, and still preserving much of the chant. The device of a substitute tenor became widely known and used in later years, but this work is the first known example of its successful employment in a polyphonic motet.

The upper voice-part, beginning *Januam quam clauserat*, tells of the martyrdom which opened for Thomas the gates of glory, and his abstinence, devotion, and healing powers. The lower voice, in contrast, alternates couplets in praise of Thomas with couplets about a legendary figure of ancient Greece : *Jacinctus in saltibus*. Hyacinth, a son of Amyclas and Diomede, was loved by both Apollo and Zephyrus ; but he returned only the love of Apollo, so Zephyrus took revenge by blowing a quoit at Hyacinth's head as he was playing a game. The boy was killed at once, and the blood flowing from his head was changed by the sorrowing Apollo into the flower which bears his name. This pagan parallel to a Christian martyrdom, although by no means unusual in the middle ages, rarely penetrated into musical compositions, but in this instance it is cleverly used as a foil to the historical and moral tone of the other text.

The *Jacet granum* chant, together with its verse *Cadit custos*, reappears in the fifteenth century in a group of Mass sections found in multiple copies at Trent (Castello del Buon Consiglio and Archivio Capitolare) as well as at Aosta (Seminario). A *Gloria* and a *Sanctus* appear to belong to one another, since they share an opening motive in the uppermost of the three voice-parts. The contratenor parts are also remarkably similar at the beginning ; and as far as the chant is concerned, the pitch is identical, agreeing also with that of the earlier motet *Januam quam clauserat*. Benet's name is attached to the *Gloria* in only one manuscript, the remaining copies bearing no trace of an attribution. All copies of the *Sanctus* lack a name, but in view of the close ties between the two sections it is very likely that Benet composed both. Another *Sanctus* by him was copied twice into the Trent manuscripts, but here the chant in the tenor appears a fourth below its usual pitch. In all of these three-part compositions, the style is suave, flowing, and assured, indicating that Benet had received excellent training and considerable practice in writing church music. Of his life, alas, not a shred of information has come down to us.

Another chant used frequently in polyphonic settings is that of the rhymed antiphon to *Benedictus*, at Lauds: *Opem nobis, O Thoma, porrige*. This is a brief prayer for protection, help, and guidance. Its first known appearance within the fabric of a motet took place in the thirteenth century, when an unknown composer (presumably an Englishman) combined it with another antiphon, this time to the Magnificat at Vespers on both feast-days: *Salve Thoma, virga justicie*. As in the case of the other motet with two texts, these are supported by two independent instrumental parts, the main difference between the compositions being the way in which these parts are used as harmonic fillers. The lowest part is labelled *Pastor caesus*, and it turns out to be the melody of yet another antiphon, also assigned to both feast-days. Although the upper voices hint at their respective chants now and then, they function mostly as mobile carriers of the text; whereas in contrast the tenor, although it cannot be texted, projects the chant more or less intact. The ingenious fourth voice, accounting for a fair number of angular harmonies and spicy dissonances, is also devoid of text although its outline leans heavily at times on the chant of *Salve Thoma*. This short but remarkable motet, combining in various ways no fewer than three antiphons from the Office of St Thomas, was discovered in the library of Westminster Abbey by the late Manfred Bukofzer, whose pioneering studies of early English music have inspired many of his successors in this rich and still unfamiliar field of research.

The melody of *Opem nobis* occurs again in an English source, this time as the tenor of a *Credo* by a gentleman composer of Canterbury, Leonel Power. Since he lived until 1445, he might well have composed this work, and an anonymous *Gloria*, for the extremely important Fifth Jubilee in 1420, when plenary indulgence was granted to the tens of thousands of pilgrims visiting Canterbury and filling the cathedral to overflowing. The throng was so vast that the High Mass *cum solempni cantu* (almost certainly a reference to polyphony) could not be properly celebrated on July 7, and had to be postponed. Power, who was almost certainly in Canterbury at the time, would have taken pains to choose the most appropriate liturgical scaffolding for his tonal structures, and it is reasonable to suppose that the *Gloria* is also his since it too draws upon the Office of St Thomas for its tenor: the antiphon at Lauds *Ad Thomae memoriam*. The close agreement in stylistic features, and the fact that both works were carefully copied into the Old Hall Manuscript, join with the presence of the Thomas antiphons to suggest that Power thought of these two compositions as a Mass pair—that is, a deliberately related pair of movements intended for a special feast-day or ceremony.

In the 1595 edition of Palestrina's fifth book of five-part motets, there is an extra item which is supposed to be a genuine work of the master though its somewhat atypical style suggests that it might have been composed by a lesser light and slipped in as a makeweight by the printer. The work in question is a motet for five voices on the text *Opem nobis*, but whereas Power used the melody without text, Palestrina (or his weaker shadow) used the text but not the chant.

Perhaps the most popular of para-liturgical compositions in the middle ages was the carol, and though several of the texts mention St Thomas, only three have survived with their music. Built upon an alternating plan of verse and refrain, and contrasting two-part with three-part harmony, these carols exude a spirit of zestful vigour which recalls something of the character of those cheerful Canterbury pilgrims. By a happy chance, these three carols exhibit three different linguistic situations : *Clangat tuba, martyr Thoma* is macaronic, mixed Latin and English phrase by phrase, *Laetare Cantuaria* is all in Latin, while *St Thomas honour we* is based on an entirely English poem which summarizes the story of the saint's life and martyrdom.

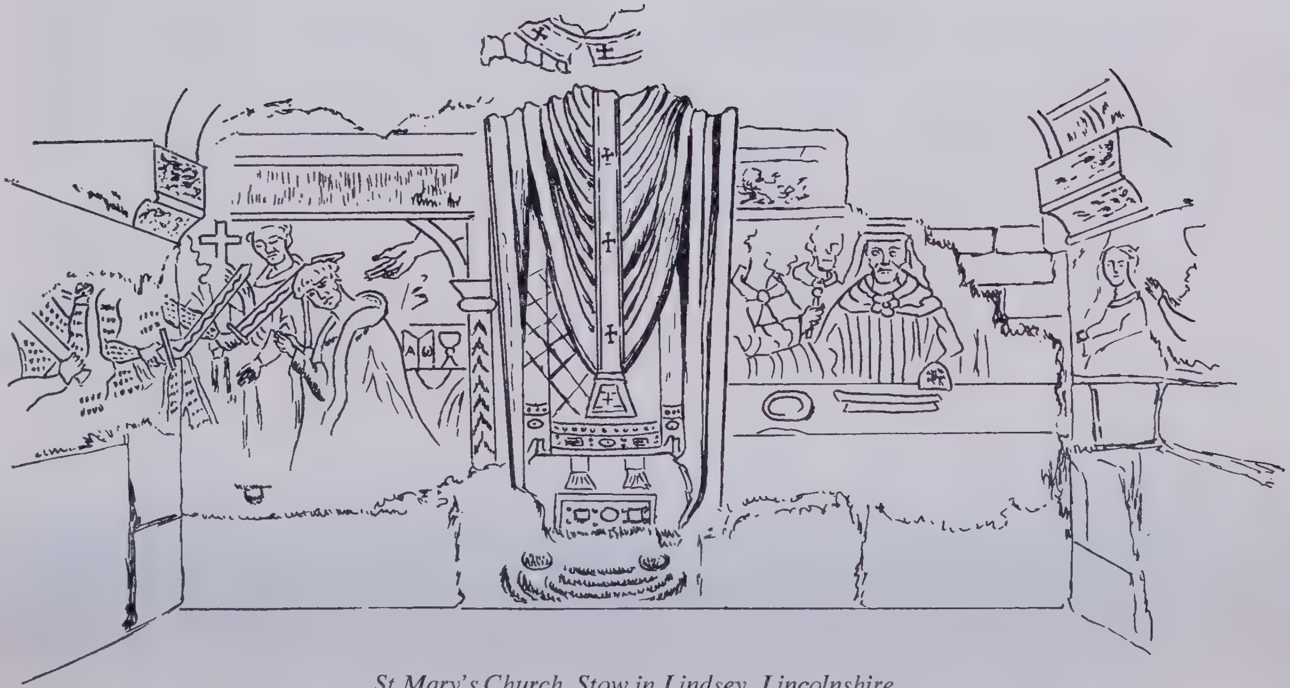
Although two medieval *conducti* (*Christi miles* and *Novus miles sequitur*) stand out as fine examples of this liturgal art-form, perhaps the most attractive work from a purely musical point of view is the motet *Thomas gemma Cantuariae/Thomas caesus in Doveria*, a four-part work which exists in fragmentary state in manuscripts at Oxford, Cambridge, and Princeton. Gaps in one source are usually fillable from another, so that a tolerable reconstruction of the motet and its rather dog-eared text is by no means impossible, even if the harmonies occasionally strain one's credulity. The text deals with two victims of violence : St Thomas of Canterbury, and Thomas de la Hale of Dover Priory, who was killed during a French raid in the summer of 1295. Far from being morbid or introspective, this blithe little chain of variations sums up much of the philosophy of the middle ages. Every cloud has a silver lining.

MEDIEVAL ENGLISH WALL PAINTINGS OF BECKET

by the Reverend J. W. Parker

Any approach to the aesthetic aspect of the Becket cult must itself be prefaced by an acknowledgement of, and deference to, the definitive work of Tancred Borenius, whose book St Thomas Becket in Art was published in 1931 (Methuen). Today, 1970, it remains a principal authority, enhanced rather than diminished by the passage of time, which has seen the loss or deterioration of many of the representations described by the author, either as a result of war or for other reasons. In some cases the irreversible slide into decay, even in our own time, is the final reward of long neglect based on the belief, generally held until some fifty years ago, that we in England had nothing to compare with the wall paintings on the Continent. Henry VIII undoubtedly meant it to be so when, after the de-canonization of " bysshop Becket "—as part of a campaign against the good name and fame of St Thomas—he declared a veritable war in 1538, on the innumerable representations of the saint then existing in this country. A royal proclamation enacted expressly that " his ymages and pictures, through the hole realme shall be putte downe and auoyded out of all churches, chapelles, and other places." Consequently, comparatively little relating to Becket remains tangible in England. " Medieval representations and direct memorials of the most famous of English saints are extremely rare in his own land " (D.N.B., Vol. LVI, p. 165). Amid the mass of Continental art-works inspired by Becket and still surviving in the present century, Borenius is able to point to only twelve English wall paintings. However, his work, together with that of W. R. Lethaby, W. G. Constable, and Professor E. W. Tristram, and, more recently, Mr. E. Clive Rouse and Mrs. Eve Baker, has revealed much that was formerly hidden on the neglected walls of English parish churches. Similar advances have of course been made in other fields of art history as well; it would be a splendid thing if the present celebrations in honour of Becket were to stimulate some scholar to go over the ground Borenius covered forty years ago, using modern techniques which were not available to him, that nothing more be lost of the wealth of art created by the Martyrdom in 1170.

This wealth is in fact very widespread, for the cult ran over Europe with lightning speed. The veneration of the martyr was the more readily diffused by the fact that Henry II's daughters all married in different countries—Mathilda in Germany, Eleanor in Spain, and Joan (who married twice) in Sicily and the South of France. No doubt they felt no less obliged than their father to placate the murdered archbishop; and certainly their relatives would have spread the prevailing English fashion. This and other factors conspired to result in an amazing wealth of medieval icono-



St Mary's Church, Stow in Lindsey, Lincolnshire
Wall Painting in the North Transept (the Becket Chapel)

graphy in these countries, and also in Italy, Austria, and Scandinavia. " The martyred archbishop ", says Borenius, " represents indeed England's principal contribution—and a highly important one—to medieval iconography ".

Something of the terrific impact of the death of Becket on Europe, is signified by the fact that within twelve years after it occurred there was a figure of him in the Byzantine mosaics of the cathedral of Monreale in Sicily, and another among the wall paintings decorating the apse of the Oratory of St Sylvester in the church of St Martin and St Sylvester (San Martino ai Monti) on the Esquiline in Rome. So the cult proliferated, calling to its aid every art form known to Medieval Europe.

Wall painting—an ecclesiological art medium—was highly developed by the medieval artist, and brought to perfection in the fourteenth century because there was great demand for his skill. Popular and sophisticated tastes in the Middle Ages were alike at least in that neither knew anything of the Puritan's severity of outlook with which we are familiar, and they revelled in a rich riot of colour in their churches. But the object of wall painting was not purely for decoration, as we may decorate the walls of our dwelling houses : the paintings in churches were put there for a dual purpose—devotional aid and instruction. Latin was the language used in worship, and before the fifteenth century there were no printed service books, while such as did exist were few and expensive. In any case the masses of the people in the congregations were illiterate, and could not read the words ; they could however use visual aids —in other words the paintings on the church walls. Thus, the medieval artist had the whole gamut of Scripture opened up to his skill, and we now know that there must have been many paintings of the highest quality in each century from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. Mr. E. Clive Rouse asserts, in fact, that medieval English wall paintings could challenge comparison with many on the Continent.

As for the martyrdom of Becket, the murdered archbishop was of course the English saint *par excellence.* One is tempted to say that the macabre circumstances of his death fascinated the medieval mind, albeit violence in art is not a Gothic monopoly. In addition there was the fascination of Becket himself. A man who could move with seemingly effortless facility from the character of a smooth clerical diplomatist and administrator, to that of a brutally efficient soldier, and from that again to the secret hair shirt of a private ascetic ; while at the same time being a prelate apparently obsessed by his privileges and driven compulsively to a wishful martyrdom—one who could make a sudden change from a king's man to a pope's man—provided the artist with material for a canvas of any size.

Adolescens fere Saulus
Praesul factus vere Paulus
Commutavit studium,

ran a hymn known from a manuscript written at Segovia in the fourteenth century. The death of this very sophisticated individual sent the artists to work on the walls of parish churches throughout Christendom, portraying all its ramifications in both single representations of St Thomas, his Martyrdom, and series of scenes from his life.

Of the painters themselves, not much is known. The names of some who worked under royal patronage, and in the great cathedrals and abbeys, have come down to us, but mostly they are like the craftsmen in stone and wood who worked and left their skill in the ordinary parish churches, unknown. Some were in holy orders, but for the most part they were journeymen painters who, having completed a contract in one place moved on to another. No doubt the master would have his pupils, and they would accompany him. Materials were few. When the *secco* technique was employed, the whole wall was completely plastered and given a finishing coat or painting surface in lime-putty ; the paint would have clear water lime as vehicle, and was probably fixed with skimmed milk (casein). The Continental artist was very much concerned with elaborate colouring, whereas the English style was simple, even crude by comparison, but sincere and effective. The pigments too, according to Mr. Rouse, were of the simplest—oxides of iron, red and yellow ochre—the red varying almost from purple to pale red. Lime white and lamp or charcoal black were used for contrast. Vermilion was also used. Greens were generally copper salt (" Vert de Greece " was a copper green). Blue is rare and is usually an azurite. But the skilful mixing of colour resulted in a remarkable variety in range and effect—deep red down to the palest pink ; deep yellow, almost brown to palest cream ; grey, and a colour that looked blue, but was produced from black and white with a touch of red.

The fresco (" fresh " or " wet ") technique, is common on the Continent, particularly in Italy, Spain and Greece, but seldom found in England ; mainly because of the unsuitability of walling materials, and the dampness of the climate. (Though, as Mr. Rouse points out, these conditions have resulted in some of our English murals becoming frescos by accident.) In fresco work the artist used cartoons—outlining his figures with bold strokes on a basic coat of plaster, which was covered by a thin finishing coat, on which the final work was done while the surface was still wet. This resulted in the pigments sinking deep into the plaster. In right conditions—walling and climate—a fresco will last amost indefinitely. But this meant that the artist could only work while the surface was in the right condition, and accordingly if his painting was large, he had to work in sections, until the whole figure, or scene, or series of scenes, was completed. The result of this sectional work is evident in many Italian wall paintings.

The stone available and the climate prevailing give together a good reason for the presence of a major proportion of wall paintings in the south-east of England. Here stone is not easily accessible, and consequently the walls were built of rubble which cannot be stripped, so that the paintings have survived. But in the north, the stone tends to be better and larger, and during the last century, many restorers succumbed to the temptation to show it off—a meaningless work—by removing the plaster. In this way great numbers of paintings have been lost in the relatively recent past.

It must have been a great day in any country parish when the wall painting was finished and unveiled. An interesting example of special relevance to the present article, is to be found at the great Romanesque minster church of St Mary, Stow in Lindsey, Lincolnshire. Here a painting was done as a reredos in the Becket chapel at a very early date ; Mr. Rouse reckons it to have been the early part of the thirteenth century ; Mrs. Baker suggests the twelfth ; and Clapham the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. When Borenius wrote in 1931, having spoken about many of the remnants to be found throughout England, he said, " Then we can actually point to the existence of wall paintings of two scenes of Becket's life—the murder and the repast which preceded it—flanking a figure of the saint, in St Mary's church, Stow, Lincolnshire : a group of early thirteenth century paintings of very considerable interest—as the Reverend George Herbert points out—from various historically very accurate details in the scene of the martyrdom. Thus, St Thomas is shown wearing a canon's cloak (cappa), not a chasuble, as in most representations of the murder ; and on the right is seen the column near which he was slain, and which was pulled down not very long after the event." This remarkable mural which is on the east wall of the north transept (the Becket chapel), was re-discovered by Edward Trollope, Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham, in 1866, and one wonders whether it had been hidden since the Proclamation of Henry VIII in 1538. The main part of it is on the wall surface, recessed, while the rectangular sides depict some of the knights (north), and, perhaps, nuns (south). It is a disaster that it was not preserved when the wall was opened up. Now it is sadly deteriorated, and Mr. Clive Rouse has been asked to clean and preserve it as far as is possible. He says it is a " work of very high quality ; the technique and style are reminiscent of the paintings in the Galilee Chapel in Durham." In the murder scene Edward Grim is evident, and the tip of one of the knights' swords is being broken on St Thomas Becket's head. Beyond the kneeling figure of the archbishop is the altar with chalice and missal on it, though it is unlikely that mass was being celebrated at the time of day when Becket was murdered. The *manus Dei*—Hand of God—is to be seen over the altar, reaching out and downwards towards the kneeling figure. In the scene of his last meal, attendants wait on the archbishop, and it may be that one is giving news of the arrival of the knights. Superimposed between these two scenes, is a full-length figure of the archbishop, wearing chasuble and pallium, and, presumably, holding the archiepiscopal cross in his left hand, while blessing with his right hand. Borenius points out that, " In conformity with the parallel established between the Martyrdom of St Thomas and the Passion of Christ, the repast of St Thomas here depicted might have been made to correspond with the Last Supper, but I know of no early authority for such a parallel." He also points out that the majority of representations of St Thomas in all countries are without the pallium.

Of the earliest posthumous single-figure representations of St Thomas, two have already been mentioned, one in the cathedral at Monreale in Sicily, and the other among the wall paintings decorating the apse of the Oratory of St Sylvester in the ancient church of St Martin and St Sylvester (San Martino ai Monti) on the Esquiline in Rome. Of the English single representations of St Thomas as archbishop, that in Hauxton church, Cambridgeshire, dating from the thirteenth century, is one of high artistic quality, and even now, apart from a slight tendency to flaking, it is in good condition ; a curtain is now provided to protect it from the light. The figure appears to have been originally about five feet six inches high, but now a considerable proportion of the lower part is missing. Indications of colour are still evident. The hair and the beard of the archbishop were apparently of reddish hue in this painting, and the chasuble a pale red exterior with a yellow lining. The white pallium is clearly seen. The figure is set within a deep-red, almost chocolate surround. The archbishop, mitred, is represented in a simple hieratic attitude—the right hand raised in the act of blessing, and the left holding the cross-staff.

Another single-figure painting of Becket is to be found in the northern bay of the Ante-Reliquary chapel wall at Norwich cathedral, where he is flanked by two other bishops. This painting was known to Borenius ; but he makes no mention of a fourteenth century work at Colwinston, in Glamorgan, which similarly emphasises Becket's episcopal character. Recent cleaning by Mrs. Baker has brought out more clearly that the scene depicts Becket's enthronement, showing the archbishop seated in the centre, with a bishop on each side, and another figure, of a layman, to the south. Immediately below this is a scene from the life of St Vitus—a subject of great rarity in this country.

The church of St John Baptist, Winchester, is cited by Borenius as having once possessed a Martyrdom of Becket, which was remarkable for the fidelity with which it portrayed the heraldry of the shields, on which the blazons were given most accurately. Also, according to Borenius, it was the only known wall painting that showed the severed head of St Thomas falling to the ground. No trace of this scene now remains visible. On the other hand, there are to be seen, in the sloping side jambs of two blocked windows in the north wall, four figures of saints, of thirteenth century date. The westerly and larger of these two windows has on its western jamb a figure of St Christopher, and on the eastern side a figure of a bishop which might reasonably be identified as St Thomas, and shows a close resemblance to those at Hauxton and Colwinston. It is about six feet high, in full vestments—alb, amice, tunicle, chasuble, with mitre and pallium—carrying a crozier in the left hand and giving a blessing with the right. No nimbus is visible above the figure, though St Christopher and the two smaller saints in the easterly window have them. Traces of colour remain. The treatment is simple to the point of severity—hieratic, but not badly proportioned, except for the hands, which are clumsy. The face is clear and lively, with positive eyes and mouth that give a slightly smiling effect.

The representations of the Martyrdom in England in wall painting, of which there is evidence, were between twenty and thirty, and of the existing examples, undoubtedly that in Bramley church, Hants, is one of the earliest and finest. The artist had an evident delight in his work as shown in the portrayal of the armour and the heraldic details. The head of St Thomas is delicately executed, and from the vertical sword, which is piercing the saint's head, two flowers are seen to be sprouting. Becket is here wearing a habit, and not Eucharistic vestments. It is interesting to note that one authority goes so far as to declare that " the proof of development of design from geometrical forms to figures in polychrome, as displayed in Bramley church, is deemed to be unique."

Among the remaining extant murals, the one in Pickering church, Yorkshire, is in good condition, although mainly restored ; it escaped the layman's hand when it was uncovered, and has been dealt with since then by experts. It shows four knights waiting to attack Becket, who is seen on the right kneeling in prayer. This is only one of a superb series of fifteenth century paintings, which make Pickering of unique significance. It occupies a space between two clerestory windows above the north arcade, and is matched immediately below by an appallingly graphic martyrdom of St Edmund.

The fourteenth century scene in St Edmund's church, South Burlingham, uncovered in 1856, is also clear and in good condition. It is especially notable for the detail of the heraldry on the knights' shields.

Another important Martyrdom scene, in the north aisle at South Newington, in Oxfordshire, was uncovered in 1931, the very year that Borenius published his book. Previously this fourteenth century work had been obscured by a fifteenth century George and Dragon, although Borenius makes no mention of this in what must have been something of a last-minute entry in his account. However, he does reproduce a splendid photograph of this painting, which had been recently cleaned by Professor E. W. Tristram. He also refers to a decapitation scene, which is a little further east of the Martyrdom in the church, but dismisses it as having no connection with Becket. This subject continued to remain a problem until it was identified by the late Dr. M. R. James, as the Martyrdom of St Thomas of Lancaster. It is probably the only picture of the subject in English art.

The cheerful story of South Newington, however, is at least balanced by gloom elsewhere. An important and unusual painting at Stoke D'Abernon, in Surrey, was destroyed by Victorians intent on " restoring " a structural feature, and another was lost from the south aisle at Merstham in the same county, probably before Borenius' time, though he refers to it as if it still existed in 1931. Scenes recognisable during the present century in the FitzHamon Chantry at Tewkesbury Abbey, and in St Cross Hospital, Winchester—these latter of superb quality—have now decayed into oblivion.

Vestiges of what was probably once a painting of the Martyrdom have recently been discovered at Capel, Kent, in a church dedicated in honour of St Thomas. Marston Magna, in Somerset, possesses an interesting version, with unusual symbolism ; but this has yet to be completely uncovered. A much fainter scene is to be found at East Wellow, in Hampshire, and another at Preston Old Church, near Brighton, Sussex. Canterbury's own inheritance is depressingly meagre—a ' ghost ' in the Crypt of the Cathedral, and the record of a destroyed painting in St Thomas' Hospital on the Eastbridge.

Such paintings, as remain, however, are being cared for as never before. A great work is being done by the few modern experts in this fascinating art medium. They above all others, though, must know there is still much to be accomplished. It is an astonishing fact that they still lack any backing by an official body, and there is still far too little understanding on the subject. Indeed, in some respects the situation is actually getting worse. As more and more churches are efficiently heated by modern systems, stone and rubble walls dry out for the first time in centuries, and paintings both known and unknown suffer in consequence. Plaster may flake away; or, where the painting is coated with old, so-called preservatives, (as one expert estimates is the case with up to 80% of known English murals), the heat may draw up the salts which sit behind the paint layer and destroy it unless the impervious covering is removed. Alternatively, the use of cement in wall-repairs, both internally and externally, can alter the balance of damp in a wall, and sometimes cause a painting to fade or disappear altogether. The future is full of such risks.

Perhaps these great celebrations in Canterbury will give rise to a new interest and care in this art. However we may understand or judge Thomas Becket, a perennially controversial figure, we could have a continuing remembrance of him by means of these wall paintings of his life and martyrdom. Today people are not illiterate, but their knowledge of the Christian Faith is not what it was for our forefathers, and when the talking and the preaching during "Canterbury 1970" is ended, and the magnificent music has died away ; when the millions of visitors and pilgrims have left Canterbury cathedral, and returned to their own homes ; they will continue to visit our parish churches on their outing-days, and see there the paintings, and read the church-guide notes ; and, who knows, God may use these for some fulfilment of his own purpose. For whatever is done during the St Thomas Becket Commemoration, it must fulfil a function that is more than academic, and that goes beyond Art for Art's sake; yes, beyond Thomas Becket, the Archbishop, the Saint, the Martyr: It must direct Christians, and all who will come with them, to HIM for whom every true martyr's sacrifice has been made.

CANTERBURY—THE PILGRIMAGE CITY

by Derek Ingram Hill

Pilgrim to the golden shrine under Canterbury towers,
Blessed be your wayfaring thro' the early English flowers.
Gossips of the Tabard Inn sing a burthen as you go,
Horse and mule and covered wain, by the blackberry and sloe.
Every day a holy day, riding over Pilgrims' Way.

CHRISTOPHER HASSALL.

From Old Testament times, the idea that by visiting certain places with sacred associations one may enter there into a deep and special relationship with God and the unseen spiritual world, has had a firm place in Man's religious concepts and practices. For Christians this is for ever hallowed by the example of the Lord Jesus who, according to the Gospel record, went all through his earthly life up to the Temple at Jerusalem for its festivals, thinking lovingly of this great national Shrine as His Father's House.

In the century that followed the conversion of the Emperor Constantine to the Faith, great basilicas were erected over the sites in Jerusalem and Bethlehem associated with the life of Christ, and to these came an endless stream of devout pilgrims. One of these, a Spanish lady named Etheria, has left behind a travel diary which gives a wonderful picture of the splendid fabric of liturgical observance which grew up to meet the spiritual needs and demands, both of the local Christian community and of the multitudes of pilgrims from all over Christendom. The effect on the Christian year, which was just beginning to be observed, can well be imagined.

At the same time Rome was becoming a similar centre for the Western world, with its basilicas rising over the tombs of the apostles and the martyrs who had suffered during the centuries of persecution in the capital of the Empire. With the growth of papal power and the fall of the secular Empire, Rome assumed a new guise as the seat of government of the Catholic Church in the West. Multitudes began to stream from all over Northern Europe to pray at the tombs of St Peter and St Paul, and great rulers like Charlemagne and our own Alfred the Great were among the many illustrious pilgrims to visit Rome and its Popes. But for the average person with neither energy, time nor money for these marathon excursions, there were growing up all through the period of the Dark Ages local sanctuaries in their own countries. These were associated with Christian leaders, and especially martyrs, whose physical resting places were thought by all to acquire a special spiritual significance which made pilgrimages to them of great efficacy.

So, more than a century before the body of St Thomas was placed in its marble tomb on the morrow of his murder, there were

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Opposite : The Refectory of the Eastbridge Hospital

shrines to the great Saxon saints Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey and St Etheldreda the royal abbess at Ely, and many other saints like Cuthbert at Durham had their pilgrimage churches. Canterbury was outstanding in having two such rival sanctuaries, since the bodies of Augustine and many early Saxon primates lay with those of King Ethelbert and Queen Bertha in the Abbey of St Augustine alongside that of the popular Kentish abbess, St Mildred. A few hundred yards away in the Cathedral Priory church were the shrines of St Dunstan, St Alphege, St Odo and St Wilfred, to which had been added that of Anselm in 1109 (though this eminently saintly archbishop was not formally canonised until the reign of Henry VII).

Small wonder that a city already rich in shrines and relics should have attracted pilgrims in even vaster numbers from the day that the news spread around Christendom that its archbishop had been murdered in his own cathedral and that his sanctified body lay entombed within the same cathedral for the veneration of the faithful, working miracles for the physical well-being of those enthusiastic enough to make the journey to Canterbury. ‘From every shire’s end of England to Canterbury they wend’ had been a true description of what was happening two centuries before Chaucer took up his pen to write the famous tales. This remained so for over three hundred years, until changing ideas in religion and changing social customs together reduced the pilgrims and their offerings to a mere trickle, some time before the shrines of all English saints were desecrated and destroyed in 1538.

Nowadays, as once again the pilgrims of the late twentieth century stream into Canterbury in their thousands from April with its showers sweet to the late autumn year after year, many of them still intent like their predecessors of long ago on paying some kind of homage to Becket, we may well look back to the days of medieval pilgrimage to see what sort of people they were for whom Canterbury and its martyr primate meant so much. Our sources of information include buildings and their furnishings as well as documents and records, and of course the many studies that have been made at different times of that ancient trackway across Southern England known as the Pilgrims Way.

The cathedral itself is the best of all reminders of how important the cult of St Thomas was in the life of the city and the monastery of Christ Church. The eastern crypt with its spacious ambulatory and watching chamber above was all designed to centre round the marble “Tumba” where the body of the saint lay from the time of the murder in 1170 to the great Jubilee of 1220. Here would have been enacted those first scenes of fervour and faith, producing sensational miracles which were recorded by the monk-chroniclers William and Benedict, either as taking place in the presence of St Thomas’s remains or more usually in the homes of the sufferers,

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Opposite : The Eastbridge Hospital from the River Stour

who thereupon made pilgrimage to Canterbury to record their gratitude and present their offerings at the 'Memorial,' as the Tomb of St Thomas the 'Lord Anointed' was often called. Incomparably the best of all records of pilgrimage in the half century after the murder is provided by the contemporary windows around the ambulatory of the Trinity Chapel. Here in splendid colours can be seen still preserved the stories of those pilgrims of long ago . . . Sir Jordan Fitzeisulf and his family, Richard Sunieve, William of Gloucester, John of Roxburgh and many others who after prayer to St Thomas were cured of sicknesses of many kinds or preserved from death by strange misadventures. Through the medium of these windows we can study their costume, customs, piety, superstition, and social habits, and learn something of the England of King Henry II and his terrible sons, Richard the Lion Heart and John, the era of the crusader and the outlaw, of Robin Hood and Walter Scott's 'Ivanhoe.'

Turning from contemplation of the stained glass to the Trinity Chapel itself one sees the noblest of all settings for pilgrimage, the glorious French Gothic chapel designed for the golden shrine of Elias de Dereham, twenty-five feet above ground level with its ascending flights of steps rising from the nave and up past the monastic quire to the open platform between the double rows of pillars, then unobscured by the royal and archiepiscopal tombs of the later Middle Ages, which must have made it less easy for pilgrims to crowd into the Chapel at the Jubilee and great festivals of the Martyr in July and December. The fine mosaic pavement, the golden crescent in the vault, the marble chair and the strange chapel called the Corona in which stood the altar for the reliquary of the Martyr's tonsure are all still evocative of the thirteenth century, when pilgrimages reached their climax in terms of fervour, numbers and offerings. Very much of this era is the Pilgrims Hospital of St Thomas yet standing on the East bridge of the City. Here one can still see the dormitory undercroft where the poor pilgrims slept on rushes on the cold damp floor housed in simple stone cubicles, the river flowing under the windows of the Hospital so that a bucket could easily be lowered for water to wash, to drink, or use for primitive cooking. Above stands the fine refectory where an aged crone would serve their meals on their arrival from the long journey and in the morning after Mass in the upper chapel before they set off for the Cathedral Priory and all its wonders. The Early English Gothic arcade here and the fine mural on the east wall showing Christ in glory among the Four Evangelists, which must have had an awe-inspiring effect on the poor and simple pilgrims for whom the Hospital was founded, suggest the work both of masons and artists from the Cathedral Priory over the way.

Nearly two hundred years passed from the time of the Translation of St Thomas's bones to the Golden Shrine to the days when

Opposite: Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral. The Shrine of St Thomas as re-constructed by BBC Television, Whitsuntide, 1969

Chaucer sat down to write his immortal Canterbury Tales. Those who delight in this wonderful series of pictures of the pilgrims, and those who take the trouble to read the little known supplement by an unknown author of the same period which begins the 'Tale of Beryn', describing the behaviour of the pilgrims on their arrival in Canterbury and their visit to the shrine in the Cathedral, will be only too aware of the decline of the pilgrimage from being a real spiritual exercise on the part of men of faith into a very secular kind of equivalent of the modern coach outings which pour their not very devout participants into Canterbury and its cathedral all through the summer months nowadays. The pilgrims in the Tale of Beryn put up at the great Inn known as the Chequers of the Hope in Mercery Lane where that dubious character the Pardoner promptly began to make up to the Tapster, a widow who seems to have been only too glad to accept his advances. In due course they all went to the cathedral and were sprinkled on entering the church with holy water by one of the monks. While the more devout pilgrims headed by the Knight went to the Shrine to make offerings and to pray, the Pardoner and Miller 'and other lewd sots' gaped at the windows until the Host scolded them and sent them all up to the Trinity Chapel where they knelt and kissed the relics at the bidding of one of the monks. They then made the round of the holy places, including the Martyrdom, the Corona, and probably the empty Marble Tomb in the Crypt. After this they went to service (High Mass sung by the monks, one supposes), buying thereafter pilgrims' tokens and brooches and then going back to the inn for their mid-day dinner.

If most of the information that survives about pilgrimage at this period suggests that the pilgrims were a middle class lot, the next century, which may be said to have begun with the burial of Henry IV in the Trinity Chapel, as close to the Shrine as was humanly possible, was the golden period of royal pilgrimage. Its recorder was a monk of Christ Church, John Stone, who entered the monastery in 1417 and for over sixty years lived the life of religion in the same convent, occupying his final years as an old monk with a chronicle which tells of many royal visits at this time. These normally took the form of a state reception of the monarch by the whole convent, vested in rich copes, and of course the Archbishop if he were at his palace. Sometimes the royal party attended High Mass and Vespers in the Quire, as was the case with Edward IV who kept the Feast of the Assumption with the monks in August 1461. In July 1465 Dom John Stone records the fact that while Edward IV and his queen Elizabeth Woodville were at Canterbury with Archbishop Bourchier news was brought of the capture of the unhappy deposed monarch Henry VI. The King and Queen promptly went to the cathedral to give thanks : there was a sermon, a solemn Te Deum intoned by the Archbishop, and a procession to the Shrine at which the royal party assisted. The Duchess Cecily of York, the King's mother, made a longish stay in June 1469, being accommodated in the prior's lodging and attending High Mass and Vespers on the Sunday of her stay. The royal pilgrimages must have been most brilliant and colourful occasions. The last took place on Whitsunday 1520, when Henry VIII escorted the mighty Habsburg Emperor Charles V to pay his devotions at the Shrine, Cardinal Wolsey being in attendance.

Few could have predicted from the reverence and devotion displayed by the illustrious visitors that only twenty years more of life remained to the famous monastery, and even before its fall the Shrine would have been demolished, the bones vanished, and pilgrimage of this kind done away with for ever in Canterbury. Yet there were plenty of warning signs to guide intelligent men of a change of attitude. Dean Stanley in his well known book, 'Historical Memorials of Canterbury', describes both the reactions of Erasmus and his friend Dean Colet of St Paul's and also of a French noblewoman, the Duchess of Montreuil, who visited the Shrine in its last days, and it is clear from the behaviour of all these different persons that the old devotion and veneration for St Thomas of Canterbury had passed away.

Four centuries later what would have seemed unbelievable to our predecessors in Canterbury only a few decades ago has now come to pass, namely the rehabilitation of St Thomas as one of the great figures in our national and ecclesiastical history. There has been a stream of plays, films, T.V. features, books, novels and even an opera about him in the last few years. At Whitsun 1969 a replica of the shrine stood for a fortnight again in the Trinity Chapel for all to see. At the end of the same year the incongruous monument of the XVIIth century Archdeacon Chapman, which had brooded over the site of the Martyrdom for so long was quietly removed, and now the holy place really does speak in its simplicity to the modern pilgrim of a famous tragedy not forgotten after eight centuries have passed away.

Once again in 1970 there are celebrations more impressive in many ways and likely to draw many more people than the great Jubilees of 1220 and the centuries that followed.

We can be quite sure that when all the excitement is over and less eventful years follow along no day will pass without its quota, large or small, of modern pilgrims. Whatever their motives, they come to Canterbury with St Thomas in their minds and are to be found gazing at the floor of the Transept where he fell, searching in vain for his shrine or burying place and speaking of 'him' to one another with the familiarity reserved for the great figures of history whose stories are known to all. Among these the 'holy blissful martyr' has his assured place—as he must always have in the hearts of all who love Canterbury Cathedral and treasure the part that he had played in its wonderful history, both in life, and still more through the manner of his heroic death.

SOME PEOPLE AND PLACES IN CANTERBURY CONNECTED WITH THE STORY OF THOMAS BECKET

by William Urry

Canterbury Pilgrims resort to the most obvious sites in the Cathedral connected with St Thomas, such as the Martyrdom, the eastern Crypt, where stood the first Tomb, and the Trinity Chapel occupied by the great Shrine from 1220 until 1538, where the worn pavement still shows dimensions of the stone steps on which it stood. But there are very many secondary sites within the Cathedral and Precincts, which deserve but receive little attention, such as the burial place of Becket's master, Archbishop Theobald (in the Nave), or the place where the Saint's future glory was made manifest (beside St Anselm's Chapel), or the western Crypt where Master Feramin coming down the steps from the Martyrdom beheld the splendid vision of Queens weeping for the death of Thomas.

Furthermore there are, out in the City of Canterbury, quite a dozen sites associated with people who played a significant part in the narrative of events leading up to the murder. Some of the people and places in question are discussed below.

The house of the Archdeacon of Canterbury

It must be confessed that the Archbishop whose name is ineffaceably connected with this city had little to do with the place. Thomas Becket makes an appearance in the civic history of Canterbury in his capacity as Chancellor. The first surviving royal charter among the city's muniments was issued at Westminster possibly in 1155, and bears among witnesses the attestation *T. canc.*, 'Thomas the Chancellor'. A similar attestation may be seen on more than one document in the Cathedral Archives. Becket's effective tenure of the Archbishopric was of brief duration since out of eight years and a half he spent over six in exile, and through much of the short remaining period he exercised office in crisis conditions. However, Becket had another connection with the city, usually overlooked, for he was Archdeacon of Canterbury for some years. He therefore served two masters, Archbishop Theobald and King Henry, solving the difficulties attendant upon such a situation by giving most of his attention to the latter. Indeed, the greatest significance of the office of Archdeacon was to provide him with an income. There is a local official called the Vice-Archdeacon who makes an appearance in Canterbury documents from time to time in that age, and Becket no doubt maintained such a deputy on the spot to do the actual day-to-day work.

The Archdeacon of Canterbury had in the twelfth century an official residence, the *domus Archidiaconi*, outside the northern city walls. It stood in an extensive area of ground on the axis of the modern Military Road, at a point not far from the junction with Union Street. A chapel stood close by, near the line of Union Street, and since this chapel was probably the place of worship for the household, Becket might have prayed there. The building, of Norman construction, survived into the eighteenth century.

It must not be imagined that Thomas Becket spent much time in this house, for he was a busy government official. But at least he must have been installed and probably feasted there on that occasion, while the house afforded a lodging readily available on visits to Canterbury.

There are two other characters in the story of the great crisis who were at least nominally Archdeacons of Canterbury and as such must have known the dwelling, however briefly. One was Roger of Pont l'Evêque, Becket's immediate predecessor as Archdeacon, elected in 1154 to the See of York through the influence of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury. Roger was an odious figure and dreadful tales were told about him. It was he who took the four knights aside at Bur close to Bayeux after King Henry's famous outburst, to brief them and to pay their travel expenses to the extent of sixty marks each, a great sum of money but needed to transport the knights, their followers, horses and equipment across the Channel. After the murder Archbishop Roger swore on the Holy Gospels that he had no part in the deed.

Geoffrey Ridel, Thomas Becket's successor as Archdeacon, was another of the battling church politicians of the age. The main guiding factor in his career was a venomous hatred of Archbishop Thomas, who responded by referring to him not as *Archidiaconus*, or Archdeacon, but as *Archidiabolus Cantuariensis*, or Archdevil of Canterbury. Geoffrey Ridel's career was hampered by the strong suspicion that he was a married man, a subject for sniggers at ecclesiastical gatherings. However, swearing great oaths that he had not connived at the death of Blessed Thomas, nor yet was he married, he secured consecration to the See of Ely in 1174 and flung his undoubted abilities and energies into the running of his diocese and Cathedral. Much of the mighty west front of Ely Cathedral still remains a memorial to his zeal. As Archdeacon he spent but little time in the house in north Canterbury but he travelled continuously and it is not unlikely that he slept there as occasion served.

There is a vestige of connection between the *Domus Archidiaconi* and Thomas Becket, disclosed in a manuscript in the Chapter Archives. This is a rentlist of Cathedral property compiled about 1180, which refers to what it calls *Redditus sancti Thome*. Rents arise under this heading from ground which can probably be now identified as part of St Gregory's churchyard, flanking old Ruttington Lane. Since the area in question lies so very close to the ancient site of the *Domus Archidiaconi*, we suggest that Archdeacon Thomas Becket bestowed some ground being part of the endowment of his office upon the monks of Canterbury Cathedral, who let it out to tenants.

Before long the rents arising from the ground were included in the general Canterbury roll of rents paid to the monks, and any connection with St Thomas was lost sight of. The House of the Archdeacon lost its identity as such when it was ceded in 1227 to the adjacent Priory of St Gregory by Archbishop Stephen Langton.

The sisters of Thomas Becket

Three sisters may be assigned to Thomas : Agnes, Roesia and Mary. Agnes became wife to Thomas, son of Theobald of Helles and dwelt with her husband in London. Mary took vows as a nun, and became Abbess of Barking in Essex. Roesia was living in Canterbury soon after the murder, and with her we are most concerned, though a word may said of the other two sisters.

This article is confined to Canterbury by its title but opportunity may be taken to draw attention to an entry relating to Agnes Becket which seems to have escaped notice. Register K, which is one of the more splendid items among the archival treasures of Canterbury Cathedral, embodies *inter alia* a fine rentlist of the monks' property in London, arranged under parishes. Following the rubric ' St Mary Bow ' there is mention of an *atrium* or courtyard flanking that church, which we take to be the small square still to be seen today alongside the building in Cheapside. The rentlist in Register K at Canterbury makes mention (fol. 66v.) of a house belonging to a certain William le Tailur, said to lie ' next to the dwelling (mansio) once that of Agnes, sister to St Thomas the Martyr '. Some detail of siting is provided, and no doubt a specialist in London topography could pinpoint the precise position of Agnes' dwelling. It was she who with her husband established the Hospital of St Thomas Acon on the site where the Saint was born, on the opposite side of Cheapside and some short distance eastward, where the Mercers' chapel was erected in later centuries. Agnes Becket was remembered in their prayers every year by the monks of Canterbury on 10 February, the anniversary of her death.

Mary Becket the Abbess has not been traced in Canterbury though attention should be drawn to the curious fact that a rent of 5s. 2d. (quite heavy by standards of the day), was paid annually to Barking Abbey by the monks in respect of their property (let out to a tenant at a higher figure) standing on the corner of Butchery Lane (now more or less Messrs Murdoch's premises). It is not at all clear why a distant nunnery should collect rent in Canterbury and we are prompted to ask if there could be any connection with Abbess Mary, all the more so since Henry II appointed her (1173) at the direct instance of Odo, Prior of Canterbury. Could Prior Odo have felt that some monetary token might be made in the circumstances ?

Like her sister Agnes, Mary Becket was remembered each year in the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral. Her anniversary fell on 21 January. There was a double connection with the memory of the

Saint on that day, for also commemorated was William the Priest, once chaplain to Thomas the Martyr.

Roesia, the remaining sister, is more intimately associated with Canterbury. She married and had two sons, John and Ralph. It seems as if her husband had died by 1174 when she makes a principal and dramatic appearance at Canterbury. At the height of the struggle with Thomas Becket, King Henry in his wrath expelled all his kinsfolk. In remorse on the occasion of his great penitential visit to Canterbury on 12 July, 1174 the king interviewed Roesia. The story is told by Guernes de Pont-Ste-Maxence, that brilliant French reporter born out of due time. He was in a good position to know of Becket family history, for Abbess Mary of Barking made him welcome when he came to England collecting copy for his long metrical history. Freely translated, the narrative of King Henry's encounter with Roesia runs as follows :

> ' Pardon ! ' he cried of Thomas' sister,
> ' Gentle sister, pardon and grace ! '
> Solace for her bitter ill,
> To her he gave a goodly mill . . .

Then Guernes spoils any attempt at poetic effect by interjecting, ' Yes, she gets a good ten marks worth of income out of that mill every year.'

The mill can be easily identified for it was the King's Mill, which gave its name to the adjacent King's Bridge in central Canterbury. It stood on the site of the yellow tile-hung house hard by the bridge and its subterranean watercourses still remain. The Pipe Rolls (the contemporary royal accounts) are in accord with the chronicler, and show that Roesia's ten marks of income had been advanced to £11 by 1176. She had died by 1185, when her son John is named as recipient. This John, not to be confused with another John, his cousin, son of Agnes (Becket) of London, was granted the office of Vicar of St Mary Bothaw in London according to a charter among the Cathedral Archives at Canterbury.

Roesia's other son Ralph dwelt in Canterbury and is found in possession of a house standing in a large plot of ground at the bridge in the ' Friars ', on the waterside in Canterbury. The house may be said to be roughly represented today by the Friends' Meeting House. In the 1180's Canterbury was split into violent factions, some citizens supporting Archbishop Baldwin and some supporting the monks when the great struggle was in progress over the question of the so-called College of Hackington just outside Canterbury. This project of the Archbishop looked like a scheme for a rival Cathedral, all the more embittering since it was to be endowed with property of the monks. At a crisis point in the conflict a great riot broke out in Canterbury and supporters of the monks including Ralph, son of Roesia and nephew of St Thomas, were seized by the rival faction and flung into the local gaol, recently constructed of wood on a site now occupied approximately by the rear portion of Messrs. Barrett's premises in Rose Lane. One night the pro-archiepiscopal citizens plotted to burn down the gaol with the prisoners inside it. But the local dogs in the Rose Lane area burst out barking and the would-be assailants, foiled of their evil intent, went off to the houses of the prisoners, and worked off their feelings by tossing up stones on to the roofs to smash tiles. No doubt this scene was enacted at the house of Ralph on the river bank, in the ' Friars '.

About 1175 the wealthy citizen of Canterbury, Edward son of Odbold, who dwelt in a stone house just north of St Peter's church, established the Hospital of St Thomas on Eastbridge (or King's Bridge), just opposite the mill of which Roesia enjoyed the profits. Ralph her son, nephew of the Saint, very properly became Master of the new foundation, and as such is a remote predecessor of the Rev. Canon Derek Ingram Hill, *Magister Hospitalis Sancti Thome.*

The wooden house of Robert de Broc

The Broc family would well repay detailed study, for they do in fact seem to be central to the crisis of 1164-1170, though they receive only casual and incidental mention in most accounts of the murder. The hatred of the ' Brokeis ' shown in Guernes' metrical French history probably reflects loathing particularly felt in the Becket family circle. ' Detestable man,' says William of Canterbury of Rannulph, head of the clan, and this seems to be the general contemporary opinion.

The family appears in various places, with a centre of gravity around Cannock Chase where they were Foresters. In the absence of a legitimate male heir to Rannulph de Broc his nephew Robert seems to have stood in a position of second in command of the clan.

The second of the great conferences held in 1164 broke up when Thomas Becket strode dramatically out through the castle hall at Northampton grasping his archiepiscopal cross amid shouts and jeers from the barons. Rannulph de Broc was there and snarled at Thomas, ' Off you go like a traitor '. The Archbishop ignored the remark, so the chroniclers say, as being unworthy of reply, but unfortunately for his dignity at this great moment of drama, he had the misfortune to trip over a faggot lying ready to be cast on the open central hearth in the castle hall, amid delighted howls from the barons. Becket angrily turned on Rannulph de Broc crying, ' One of your family was hanged on some charge, which is more than ever happened in my own family ! ' Here we can listen to the London burgess's son, on the defensive among men who counted as aristocrats, violent, illiterate and savage though they were. This puzzling remark of Becket's has regularly been passed over without comment though the solution has been standing in print for a very long time.

The *Testa de Neville* (first printed in 1807), that vast reservoir of miscellaneous information relating to feudal conditions in medieval England, embodies information relating to the Broc family and their connections. *Testa de Neville* tells how William the Conqueror bestowed land on one Richard Cheven from whom it passed to his daughter Margery, and from her to William Croc (evidently her husband), and from him to another William Croc. This second William Croc (we are now in the middle of the twelfth century), had a sister called Margery, and she married Robert de Broc. Among Croc family possessions the Forestership of Cannock now seems to have passed to the Brocs.

Robert de Broc, nephew to Rannulph, plays his own conspicuous part in the story of the murder of 1170, for it was he who led the charge of the four knights round past the kitchen of the Archbishop's Palace at Canterbury to gain entry by the staircase on the southern (or Cathedral) side of the hall. *Testa de Neville* goes on to say that possessions of the Croc family had passed with Margery Croc to her husband Robert de Broc, *because her brother William Croc had been hanged*. Here then is the clue to Becket's savage rejoinder in the hall of Northampton Castle in 1164. Hanging was a fearful disgrace in a feudal family, and a taunt like that could hardly be wiped out other than in blood. The Brocs were accessories on the day of the murder six years later and it is surprising that they did not actually strike a blow.

The Constable of England early in the reign of King Henry II was Henry of Essex. He may be found mentioned in Canterbury documents, as for example in a royal charter protecting the Cathedral's hunting rights in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire (1155 or 1158 ?) when he attests in company with Becket himself, still Chancellor and not yet Archbishop. Accusation was made against Henry of Essex on grounds of cowardice in the Welsh campaign of 1157. It was claimed that he had cast away the royal standard and had fled. Robert de Montfort his accuser joined with him in belated Trial-by-Battle in 1163. Henry of Essex was defeated, shorn as a monk, and bundled into Reading Abbey. His estates were confiscated. Now one of his holdings was Saltwood Castle, Kent, more or less identified with the office of Royal Constable, though in fact it was a fief of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Becket fled overseas in 1164, and Henry put it into the hated hands of (of all people), Rannulph de Broc, while the Palace at Canterbury fell to Robert de Broc his nephew, all to the bitter fury of Becket. This will account for the fact that on the day of the murder Robert who ' knew all the ins and outs of the place ' was able to guide the knights.

Robert de Broc aggravated his offence by plundering timber from woods belonging to the Archbishopric. With this timber he built himself his wooden house at Canterbury where he feasted at Christmas in 1170. The site of the house cannot be identified for certain, but a likely location is a piece of ground 115 ft. by 280 ft. in St Peter's Grove in Canterbury (beyond the present Methodist School), listed in a rental of c. 1200 as formerly in the hands of Robert ' del Broc.'

Robert de Broc intercepted supplies being brought into Canterbury to stock up the Palace after Becket's return from exile in December, 1170. The story is told by the chroniclers with some variation in detail, but it is evident that the tail of one of the sumpter animals was chopped off, some say by Robert de Broc, though John de Broc, a nephew of Robert is also accused. Becket was enraged at the insult, and excommunicated Robert de Broc on Christmas morning in the Cathedral. Robert de Broc sent back a man named David of Romney to say that if he were excommunicated he would just carry on as an excommunicated man. However, as de Broc sat at that Christmastide making merry with friends in his wooden house in Canterbury, bread which he had handled was tossed to his dogs, but the animals would not touch it. So it was mixed up with some other food and given to them. But the sagacious creatures sorted out the food contaminated by contact with their excommunicated master and refused to eat it.

There are several unsolved problems connected with the Broc family which call for further study. For example, is Robert to be identified with the man named in a document (c. 1170) of great importance for the investigation of feudal conditions in England as a land-holder in Buckinghamshire (printed by Professor Stenton in *Feudal England*, p. 282) ? Again, where and why did Peter de Broc who succeeded to Robert's estates by 1195 become a monk soon afterwards as the Pipe Rolls record ? And again, a most engaging problem, who is the mysterious Robert son of Rannulph, traditionally called ' one of the executioners of Thomas Becket ', who founded the Premonstratensian Abbey of Beauchief in Derbyshire about 1173, in honour of St Thomas the Martyr ? The founder died as one of the white-clad brethren of his own foundation. It is tempting to suggest that the word ' son ' is a mistake for ' nephew ' in the charter recording the foundation, but the dates available will not fit Robert (de Broc), nephew of Rannulph (de Broc). Could this founder be an illegitimate son of Rannulph de Broc actually present and active at Canterbury on the fatal day in 1170 whose name escaped the sometimes confused memories of the chroniclers ? If so, he himself would not forget and the Beauchief Abbey seal which depicts the murder of St Thomas seems to testify to the penitence of the founder.

Gervase of Cornhill

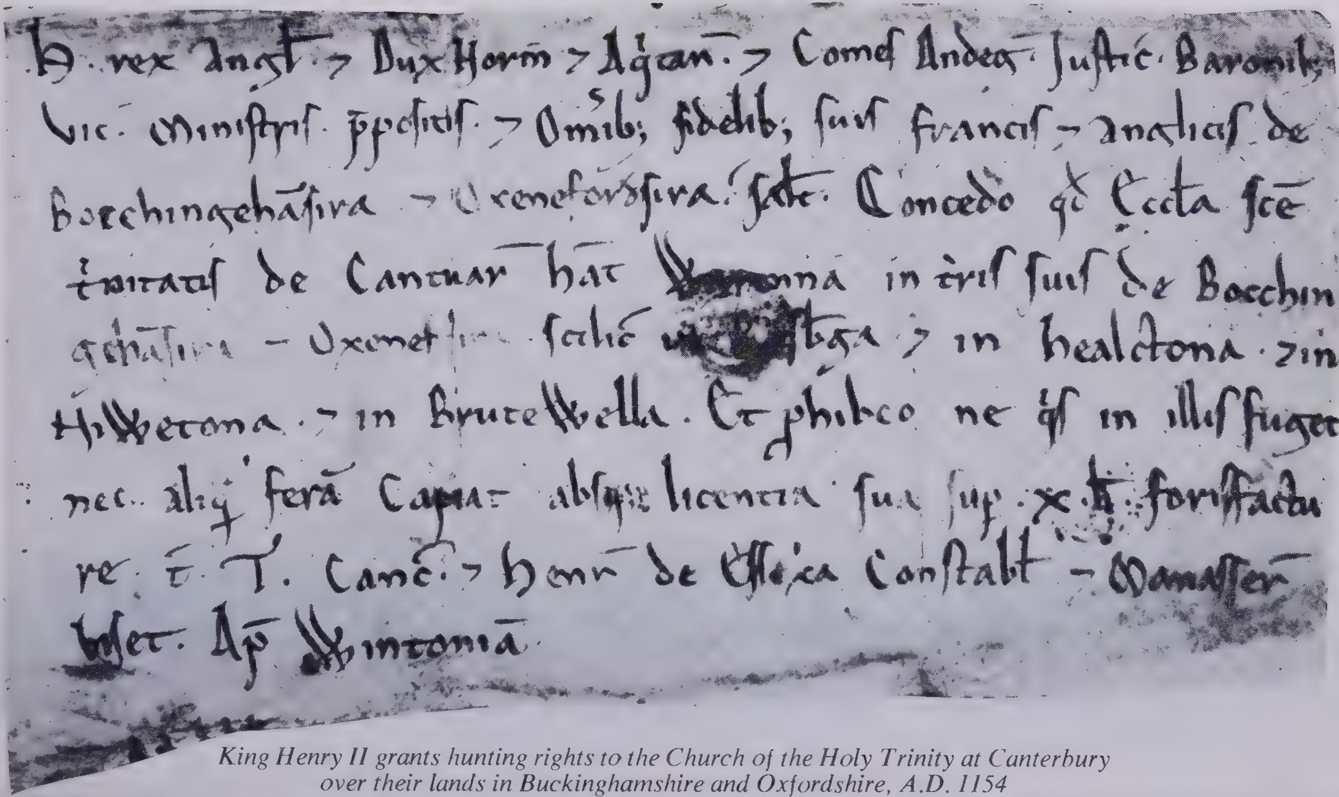
As Thomas Becket made ready to cross the Channel at the end of November, 1170 a violently hostile reception party assembled to meet him at Dover. He turned aside to Sandwich, at which a group including the Sheriff of Kent, Gervase of Cornhill, with Reginald de Warrenne, and the hated Rannulph de Broc rode up from Dover to intercept him. However, John of Oxford had been assigned by the King to protect the Archbishop and their threats were of no avail.

Gervase of Cornhill was member of the rich and powerful London family of the name and therefore fellow-citizen with Becket himself. The Cornhills were now moving into the circle of land-owning knights. The chronicler William of Canterbury sneers at Gervase for being more concerned with his percentages than with promoting justice. The Cornhills certainly stand curiously with a foot in two social groups, as is shown by their contacts at Canterbury.

The son of Gervase was Reginald of Cornhill, the first of that name. He married a local Canterbury woman named Matilda, who was daughter to Hamo son of Roger, Seneschal or Steward to the monks of St Augustine's Abbey. Hamo's father Roger was the monastic cook at St Augustine's, so we have the interesting spectacle of a powerful magnate of the realm like Gervase, with a daughter-in-law whose grandfather was a cook. However, institutional cooks in ancient days were notoriously well-off and a survey of c. 1166 shows Roger the Cook in possession of a barn close to the lower reaches of Monastery Street, flanking what is now Christ Church College. The family group had property at Canterbury, partly of the inheritance of Matilda, and partly acquired by purchase of Gervase of Cornhill. This may be roughly equated with the Burgate Flats backing on to the Cathedral Precincts. The monks were alarmed at frequent fires occurring along this frontage (their worst fears were realised in the conflagration of 1174, when the Choir was burnt out by sparks from burning property in the Buttermarket). So in (probably) 1177 they induced the Cornhills to exchange their ground on Burgate Street for other property in Friday Street in London (financially speaking a very bad deal indeed !).

The survey of c. 1166 mentioned above shows ground outside St George's Gate in the hands of Hamo, son of Roger and of John, son of Roger. These can hardly be other than the father and uncle of Matilda, wife of Reginald of Cornhill (I) and daughter-in-law to Gervase the Sheriff. The ground is now represented by the open space in front of the Chaucer Hotel. Hamo the father of Matilda can be found in action as Steward of the abbey in one of the great mass of miracle stories of St Thomas Becket. Ralph, Subprior of St Augustine's had to go to Rochester on business and drew his expense allowance for himself and attendants, from Hamo son of Roger, called on this occasion 'Dispenser' of the abbey. Money was spent on normal travel expenses and the sum of three halfpence was given in alms to the poor. When Ralph the Subprior returned to Canterbury he opened his purse to account for his travel-expenses and lo, by virtue of St Thomas the whole of the five shillings was still there, plus the three halfpence bestowed on the poor.

Reginald of Cornhill (II) son of Reginald (I) was concerned in providing a benefaction to Canterbury Cathedral and acquired for this purpose a great stone house in St George's parish near that church. The site had been occupied for long years by a family of



H. rex Angl. ⁊ Dux Norm. ⁊ Aquitan. ⁊ Comes Andeg. Justic. Baronib;
Vic. Ministris. ppositis. ⁊ Omib; fidelib; suis francis ⁊ anglis de
Bocchingehamsira ⁊ Oxenefordsira. salt. Concedo qd Eccla sce
trinitatis de Cantuar hat Warennam in tris suis de Bocchin
gehamsira ⁊ Oxenefordsira scilic in Risberga ⁊ in healctona ⁊ in
Hilletona ⁊ in Brutewella. Et phibeo ne qs in illis fuget
nec aliq feram capiat absq licentia sua sup x lib. forisfactu
re. T. T. Canc. ⁊ Henr de Essexa Constabl. ⁊ Manasser
biset. Ap Wintoniam

King Henry II grants hunting rights to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury over their lands in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, A.D. 1154

Canterbury Cathedral Archives, CHARTAE ANTIQUAE, *C. 71. IX* mintmasters. The monks used the rent as endowments for the twin altars of SS Dunstan and Alphage flanking the High Altar, whence the building was called the ‘ Great House of St Dunstan ’ (the name of St Alphage usually being omitted in the rentlists). The site of the house can now be pointed out as approximating to that of Messrs Woolworth.

William de Capes and the Back Gate (i.e. Lattergate, The King's School)

When Becket fled precipitously from Northampton in 1164 he left his household staff behind. They were at the mercy of the hostile barons, and William de Capes the Marshall of Becket's household went to the King and besought protection. Henry gave orders for such protection, but spoilt a generous gesture by telling the much-hated Rannulph de Broc to see to the matter. William de Capes followed his master into exile, and kept watch while Becket underwent his penitential immersions in the drains beneath the Abbey of Pontigny. After the murder William de Capes gravitated to Canterbury (like other members of Becket's kin and entourage), and was assigned the office of Keeper of the Back Gate at the special instance of the King and Archbishop Richard (Becket's successor). He was also accorded a free daily issue of food. It is unlikely that he performed the opening and shutting of the portal, and an individual called Reginald, *homo Willelmi de Capes*, probably did the actual work. However, William de Capes himself is found at the gate on occasion as in 1189 when at a juncture in the great struggle over the question of the College of Hackington he was set on a special sentry duty in company with one of the monks. He had some ground in Canterbury which can be sited in King's Street, at a point more or less opposite Professor Keith-Lucas's house.

Adam of Charing and his house

In the summer of 1164 Thomas Becket made an effort to escape from England. He put to sea from New Romney but the sailors, realising what they were doing, and fearful of the King's anger, and apparently counselled by one Adam of Charing who was in the ship, put back into port. Adam took part in administering property of the See of Canterbury during Becket's exile, and suffered excommunication. At the end of the twelfth century he is found living in Canterbury in a great stone house, which is today represented by the Poor Priests' Hospital in Stour Street. This stands as rebuilt in the fourteenth century but during the recent restoration some parts of what must have been Adam of Charing's building came to light.

After the murder Adam capitulated like the rest of Becket's foes and founded the Hospital of SS Stephen and Thomas (the two Martyrs) at New Romney close to the sea where he had once offended the Saint.

John son of Vivian

One of the miracle stories of St Thomas relates that John son of Vivian, then Provost of Canterbury (i.e. one of the joint *prepositi* or chief citizens), intercepted a carter leaving Canterbury. He enquired about tolls due on goods brought into the city. The man said he had brought a load of sick pilgrims, and indicating two lying in the cart affirmed that all the rest had been cured by virtue of St Thomas. It is quite possible that John son of Vivian had been one of the two *prepositi* who had courageously refused to bring out the citizens in arms when ordered by the knights to do so on the day of the murder. John was son of a man called Vivian of Wiht who had gone on a journey to Jerusalem, whether as a private pilgrim or as a member of the crusading force in 1147-1148 is not stated. John or his family held extensive property in and outside Canterbury. Indeed this burgess was wealthier than many knights. By 1200 his widow Leticia was living in central Canterbury on a site now represented approximately by Orchard's shoeshop next to the site of St Mary Breadman church.

William of Eynesford

An early cause of quarrel between Henry II and Becket was the excommunication launched by the latter against a tenant in chief, William of Eynesford. He was the third William in the family. His grandfather William of Eynesford (I) became a monk of Canterbury Cathedral late in life. William (III) stood surety for Becket (despite the excommunication) when the Archbishop was under suspicion of intention to slip overseas. When he did so William of Eynesford lost his money (100 marks), only recovered ten or twenty years later with papal support from offerings at the Tomb of St Thomas.

The Eynesford family held ground in Canterbury around King's Bridge. The transitory church of St Helen standing near the City Library was founded on a piece of their ground. Other ground is now covered by the General Post Office (the area lying back from the street and fronting on to Stour Street). Another piece of family ground lay next to King's Bridge and here Edward son of Odbold founded his Hospital of St Thomas.

Alan of Ratling

This man was excommunicated in 1169 by Becket for some unspecified offence. He can almost certainly be identified with the man whose wife was cured of illness in later years by intervention of St Thomas. The family held ground in Canterbury. One piece of ground occupied by Isaac son of Benedict and held of the Ratlings, lay opposite the present City Library. Another piece can be claimed as roughly represented by nos. 2 and 3, The Forrens off the Green Court in the Cathedral Precincts. The site, held from the Ratlings by the ' wife of Wungwin ' was exchanged with them by Prior Wibert for the space lying west from St George's church tower, occupied in the latter twelfth century by a character called Winedei Butercluncc. Wungwin's wife had a daughter who married Robert the clerk. The monks compensated them as tenants by giving Robert the clerk a post in the monastic kitchen, where his talents certainly would not go unwasted, as there was a demand for administrative services in an establishment catering for a hundred monks, a hundred servants and an endless stream of visitors numbering nobles and pontiffs, each with a train of attendants.

Notes. It has not been thought necessary to supply chapter and verse for every point mentioned above. The narratives of the murder are available in print in *Materials,* (Rolls Series) and in editions of Guernes de Pont-Ste-Maxence. Material relating to Canterbury and its citizens in the age of Becket can be found in Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings.* Dates of obits of Becket's sisters are provided in BM. MS Arundel 68, and in Cotton, Nero C. IX (printed Dart, *Canterbury Cathedral,* app. XII). For Mary Becket's institution as Abbess, see *Monasticon,* I, 1849, p. 437. *Testa de Neville* (see account above of R. de Broc), should be consulted in the later and better edition (H.M.S.O.). For Beauchief Abbey, see Tanner, *Notitia Monastica.*

MEN OF THE WORLD

By M. St. John Parker

The worldly cleric is no stranger to Canterbury; and, human nature being what it is, he has a special fascination about him. We love probing motives and questioning aims, above all when professions and realities appear to diverge far enough to seem actually contradictory. Thomas Becket is a classic case of this sort, and the great debate has perhaps never raged so fiercely about his elusive personality as it does in this centenary year. Echoes of the argument are to be found, discreetly muted, in Canon Herbert Waddams' short essay published by Pitkin Pictorials in their Pride of Britain series at 3/-. This most attractive booklet, rich in the splendid photography which is a speciality of the publishers, is a most worthwhile addition to the mass of Becket iconography. Having said this, it is no disparagement to add that its format is not suited to high-flying speculation. In his text, therefore, Canon Waddams confines himself to a cautious indication of the main points of controversy, and the general opinion that in the clash of loyalties the claims of religion were paramount for Becket as they were for everyone else in Europe at that time. That is to say, churchmanship overrode other considerations because it had to. This approach, particularly when expressed in such statements as " Becket was undoubtedly a sincerely religious man ", may seem to beg too many questions for the scholar's taste. But Canon Waddams' principal objective is to set Becket in his time, and this he does with an admirably light touch, which makes sense and easy reading even of the complexities of the twelfth century Church-State controversy.

Becket's intransigence in this dispute led to his death, and as Canon Waddams points out, it was the fact that he had been martyred in this holy cause, and not any inflated notions about the sanctity of his life, that enabled the pope to pronounce him a saint. All the same, it was the apparent change in his behaviour, or at any rate the new twist he gave to his worldliness on becoming archbishop, that fascinated both contemporaries and later generations. Admiring medieval biographers searched for—and found—evidence of holiness, or at least asceticism, in Becket's later life. And in this, as in other respects, the great archbishop set a fashion which his successors—or their chroniclers—had to take into account.

The point is made interestingly in a life of one of the most notably worldly of Becket's successors, Hubert Walter, who was archbishop from 1193 to 1205. (**Hubert Walter,** by C. R. Cheney: Nelson, 42/-.) Like Becket, Walter was intended by his king to combine the highest offices in both Church and State for the good of the realm—or, more specifically, in the royal interest. In the mid-1190's he was simultaneously Justiciar of England, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Papal Legate—a combination of roles which made him unquestionably the most powerful subject in the land, and, in the absence of the king, the effective ruler of England. Unlike Becket, however, Walter managed to ride his badly matched horses with sufficient skill to avoid falling, and even to collect some measure of praise from all sides. Richard I, who made him archbishop, clearly thought of him almost entirely as a valuable royal servant. But so soon after Becket's death, no archbishop could treat his office as a mere secular convenience with entire impunity. Certainly the problem of conflicting loyalties and duties worried Hubert Walter himself, though Prof. Cheney insists that it is impossible to weigh the inmost thoughts of this most discreet man. Contemporaries wishing to paint a favourable portrait were even more perturbed, and tended to go out of their way to stress his benevolent patronage of the strict Cistercian and Carthusian orders. Nor was the image wholly artificial—Prof. Cheney points out that " The desire to honour St Thomas and to follow in his footsteps is often expressed in Hubert's official correspondence." But contrariwise his sharpest critics draw explicit and unfavourable comparison between Becket, converted to sanctity, and Walter, persistent in worldliness.

Similarity between the two men, on the other hand, can from the historian's point of view be maddeningly close. Both were preeminently administrators, and as Stubbs pointed out 100 years ago, we have plenty of evidence that administrative capacity did not at that time necessarily imply either scholarly achievements or a scholarly bent. In consequence, there is little in the way of personal literary remains by which we can judge either man. In the case of Walter, no posthumous cult arose to preserve fragile hearsay legends, or unearthly curious personal and family details. For such a notable man, in fact, Walter is almost anonymous. He was clearly an important official even before the Third Crusade raised him to eminence ; but if it had not been for the romantic accident of King Richard's imprisonment in an imperial castle, where Walter was among the first to visit and succour him, and the coincidence of a vacancy in the see of Canterbury, it may be doubted whether he would have come to be remembered as " the archbishop who ruled England for the king." Prof. Cheney is scrupulous in avoiding unsupported conjecture where the record is blank, both about the early part of Walter's career and about the intentions which may have lain behind his later policies. The result is an account which relies largely on the indisputable documentary evidence of Walter's administrative activity. This was wide-ranging in its scope, exceptional in its routine competence, and sharply stamped with the impress of a ruthless and original character. Walter's talents were employed without stinting in the service of Church and State alike; Prof. Cheney speaks with measured praise both of the success of the ' regency ' period, and equally of the skill which Walter showed in managing the finances and administrative machinery of the Church —as seen, for instance, in the important Provincial Council of 1200, which set in train a major programme of reform.

The final conclusion of the book catches Walter's character and achievement with admirable economy—" He was perhaps as good a head as the English Church could expect to have . . . . Few archbishops of Canterbury can have used their opportunities to greater advantage." In short, Prof. Cheney has given us a thoughtful and balanced study, set against a masterly account of the English Church in this formative period, and occasionally enlivened by a dry humour. It fills an important gap in the history of the mediæval archbishopric, and will deserve a place as the standard biography of a hitherto neglected and elusive figure.

From King John to Mr. Gladstone may seem a long step. Yet Archbishop Tait, the principal figure of a recent book by Dr. P. T. Marsh (**The Victorian Church in Decline** : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 63/-), seems in retrospect closer to Archbishop Walter perhaps than he would have cared to imagine himself. Both were practical men, administrators at national level to whom high politics were part of everyday business ; both, in addition, saw Church and State as closely interrelated aspects of one community life ; both were much concerned with projects for reform, particularly connected with matters of discipline, at times of changing values and circumstances ; finally, both could be described as worldly, in the sense that they were men whose work lay in the world, rather than in the spheres of devotion, scholarship, or pastoral care.

The chief difference between them is in a sense to be found in the circumstances in which they had to work. Walter ruled a Church whose role was perhaps changing, but whose grip over the spiritual allegiance of men was at the height of its power. Tait, on the other hand, as Dr. Marsh's title indicates, found himself standing with Matthew Arnold on Dover Beach, where the Sea of Faith left only

" Its melancholy, long, withdrawing roar,
Retreating, to the breath
Of the night-wind, down the vast edges drear
And naked shingles of the world."

The Victorian era was by no means a period of unrelieved piety, or even respectability. Fashions ebbed and flowed, or rather, conditions and factors changed, and the bustling, confident, if somewhat shallow religion of the High Victorians was confounded and swept away by scientific doubt, internal strife, social change and economic dislocation. It was Tait's unhappy lot to preside over this period of decline from 1868 to 1882. It is true that *The Times* at his death spoke of " the vastly strengthened hold " of the Church over the nation since the disestablishment crisis of 1870 ; but in fact this was the strength of weakness—the Church was free from attacks only in so far as its opponents no longer thought it worth the trouble.

There is a certain sad irony here, in that Tait might seem to have been made for success. Dr. Marsh describes him as " the most powerful Archbishop of Canterbury since the seventeenth century " ; his administration was outstanding ; his grasp of problems and realities quick and decisive ; he was a master of the Parliamentary process, and his speeches could dominate the House of Lords ; one notable lawyer considered him the best judge he had ever known ; he won the trust and esteem even of the suspicious Queen Victoria. He exerted all his powers, despite recurrent heart disease and a succession of dreadful personal afflictions (the worst occurred when, immediately before becoming Bishop of London in 1856, he lost five of his little girls within the space of a month from scarlet fever), but all his efforts could do no more than check the decline. It might be argued that his magnificent gifts were the wrong ones for the period—that a " man of God " might have achieved more than this " layman's archbishop ", as friends and enemies alike called him, though with different emphases. But this cannot be proved, and in any case, the factors operating to bring about the decline of the Church of England, and of religion in general, were too big for any one man to tackle.

Undoubtedly one of the greatest forces operating against the Church, if not against religion as such, at this time was the State. With no hostile intention, indeed with evident deference and reluctance, it was taking over the last remains of the Church's ancient position as provider of social services, and most particularly the crucial business of education. This process was the inevitable outcome of the growth of industrial society, into a size and shape far beyond the capacity of any voluntary organisation to provide for its needs. Sectional opposition delayed the assumption of responsibility by the State, but Forster's Education Act of 1870 marked the decisive movement of government, secular forces into this last field of private, religious activity. In thus depriving the Churches of a role, they deprived them to some extent also of a sense of purpose, with effects on morale which Dr. Marsh describes sensitively and in detail.

Answers to the question, where next ?, were various. Tait was an Establishment man. Though himself of Scottish Presbyterian background, he believed firmly in the virtues and values of the Anglican Establishment, with its opportunities for influencing government and giving reality to the cant description of England as " a Christian country." In line with the central tradition of Establishmentarian thought, he refused to see the Church of England as a sect, simply another minority group, though one possessing special power and privilege. On the contrary, he always referred to it as the *National* Church, and he fought vigorously in defence of its claims to this title, in terms of both its membership and its policies. It is one of the many tragic paradoxes of his career that this humane and enlightened vision actually separated him from many of the extreme ritualists and protestants who by now constituted the main dynamic forces left in the Church of England.

The violent quarrels of these two factions in fact engaged much of Tait's attention during his archiepiscopate. Tait's own views were essentially moderate—he first rose to public notice by launching the protest movement against Newman's Tract XC—and he might possibly have reacted to the interminable succession of petty and trifling quarrels by declaring " a plague on both your houses." That he did not, was due in part to his high sense of the responsibility which he bore for peacemaking, but also to his perception of the fact that, as Dr. Marsh points out, " at bottom the issue was how the Church ought to restore its social effectiveness." Tait's own view on this hinged on his conception of the Church as an influence on government and Parliament. It is significant that his efforts to deal with internal divisions took the form at first of the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, a measure on the passage of which he expended much skill and subtlety, but which in the end came to be itself a source of scandal as a result of its unforeseen effects—in particular, the imprisonment of ritualist clergymen. The political embarrassment caused by this Act was a major factor in making politicians—even the sympathetic Gladstone—reluctant to spend time and risk popularity over measures designed to bring about Church reform, even when these were badly needed. This involved Tait in problems of growing complexity. He preferred Parliament to Convocation as the organ of Church government, since Parliamentary rule chimed with his concept of the National Church ; but the Church's house had to be put in order, and Parliament would not take the trouble to do the job. The archbishop recognised this sadly, when he remarked to his chaplain as he left the Lords for the last time, " They didn't listen to me. It is the first time for twenty years. My work is done." Unreformed, the Church fell increasingly obviously into the role of a sectional interest, and Tait noted in 1881 " When I despair, the cause of a liberal National Church may be said to have gone." Defeat was the more bitter for him, since he had never taken the narrow view. Establishment had not been a cosy power-game, but a high public duty, resting on popular support and national influence. If his attempts to retain the Anglican grip over these were pushed aside by Parliament, the scene was changing radically.

With the failure of this last relic of seventeenth century Comprehension, the Anglican Church was forced to face up to the problem of its very existence. It found itself in a paradoxical dilemma, out of which it has not yet managed to find any clear way. Evangelism in an age of scepticism requires at one and the same time unequivocal clarity and infinite subtle flexibility—and both qualities are likely to offend one group or another of the existing faithful. " We have of late thought so very anxiously and tenderly of unbelievers that we have forgotten the stumbling blocks that we have placed in the pathway of average believers," complained Bishop Ellicott of Gloucester in 1879, and his words have been echoed innumerable times since. Then as now the temptation was strong to let the Church turn in upon itself, to accept the verdict of the world and acknowledge that Christianity was a minority quirk. Archbishop Tait would never accede to such a defeatist policy ;

but his clear administrator's mind could not mistake the signs. " The age has become sceptical," he wrote in the last months of his life, and he would probably have found himself compelled to agree with Dr. Marsh's conclusion that with his death " The heights of the Church of England's mid-Victorian strength and security sloped away to inconsequential lowlands."

The book is long, thorough and detailed, a solidly carpentered work of research. As a serious study of the Victorian Church in the 1870's, it is topical and analytical, rather than narrative or biographical in style. Occasionally its thoroughness verges on repetition, and its solidity on heaviness. But like a good piece of Victorian furniture, its craftsmanship is sound, it does not creak at the joints, and it will wear well.

The Revd. David Edwards' memoir of Canon Shirley (**F. J. Shirley—An Extraordinary Headmaster** : S.P.C.K., 15/-) is an altogether slighter piece of work, a sketchy and impressionistic treatment of a notoriously difficult subject. Despite its unevenness, though, and its unattractive format, this is an exciting and fascinating book. It gives a confused but colourful idea of a rich and powerful personality, fertile in ideas and expedients, and driving continuously in pursuit of success. The precise nature of that success, so consistently sought, is not easy to define—but it certainly was not the purely personal, worldly thing that might come first to mind. It was largely a matter of relationships—Canon Shirley was a brilliant creator of loyalties. Above all, it expressed itself in terms of community, the great community created and moulded in so personal a way around the Green Court in the Precincts.

In his own way, Canon Shirley resembled the other great clerical administrators of this group. Finance came easily to him, people were handled with powerful skill, decision was natural and enjoyable. On ideas, as opposed to policies, he could be woolly and inconsistent—his thoughts on Establishment would hardly have commended themselves to Archbishop Tait, and his article on Privilege and the Public Schools makes lame reading. But these and similar uncertainties vanish in the light of his greater purposefulness. " The purpose of this School " he declared during his Commemoration Sermon in 1961 " is in no doubt." In so far as this could be true, the certainty derived from his personality above all. His genius was a worldly genius, but was his ideal a worldly ideal ? He aimed to create an integral community, existing for the public weal, exercising privilege with responsibility, training Christian boys for Christian service. The phrases are all his own ; individually they are susceptible of infinite critical analysis, but taken together their meaning is unmistakable.

We are left, in fact, with the paradox of the worldly cleric ; is it possible that professions and realities converge after all ?

PORTRAITS OF THE DEANS OF CANTERBURY IN THE DEANERY

by Roy Strong

One is so used to the grand displays of ancestor images in the great houses of England that one easily forgets that the episcopal palaces and deaneries of this country are their ecclesiastical equivalent. It must at once be admitted that when it comes to portrait painting few classes of society in the past have shown more deplorable taste than the clergy. Apart from Bishop Auckland, the episcopal palace of the Prince Bishops of Durham, one would be hard put to it to cite a single clerical collection to match in quality the portraits by Van Dyck, Gainsborough or Reynolds, that make up the family pictures at Chatsworth or Woburn. Nonetheless, even if their aesthetic importance may often be minor their historical importance is always great. And there are usually at least one or two treasures lurking amongst them, even more so today when the achievements of British art are being more widely recognised. The collection in the Deanery at Canterbury is such an instance of this haphazard accumulation of faces over the centuries of the holders of a single clerical office.

The earliest portraits in the Deanery are of two fierce Elizabethan Deans, Thomas Godwin and Richard Rogers. These portraits belong to the stiff icon-like tradition of painting favoured by the court of Queen Elizabeth I. It is almost incidental that they depict a human being at all, being an abstract compilation of faces, hands, lecterns, books and coats of arms. Then follows a gap of some forty years until the reign of Charles I when a series of portraits of the Deans was commissioned, probably by Isaac Bargrave. This includes even one of the first Dean in the reign of Henry VIII, Nicholas Wotton, but all four portraits firmly depict men attired in the costume of clerics of the early seventeenth century. By the outbreak of the Civil War the Deanery portraits were therefore an established tradition.

Thenceforward there is an unbroken series of portraits to the present day. Typically, some are copies or repetitions of pictures elsewhere. This is understandable when it is remembered that portraits usually came after a sitter had moved on to a higher office. Nonetheless, out of the thirty-two portraits which take the history down to 1924 there are treasures. Pride of place must go to the three portraits by George Romney of Brownlow North, John Moore and James Cornwallis. Next come the grandiose three-quarter length by Sir Francis Grant of Richard Bagot and the interesting Lowes Dickinson of Alford. At the moment all these are sadly in need of cleaning and restoration and it is to be hoped that this article may arouse some interest in this project. It is very difficult to ascertain the quality even of the Romneys through the dirt and discoloured varnish of two hundred years. Further discoveries too may be made. The cases in point here are in the portraits of Freind attributed to Thomas Hudson and that of Potter attributed to Benjamin Wilson. It is to be hoped therefore that in commemorating eight hundred years of the Cathedral the preservation of the likenesses of those who have cared, loved and worshipped in it over the centuries will not be forgotten.

1. NICHOLAS WOTTON, 1541-1567

   By an unknown artist, c. 1640

   One of a series of four canvases painted as a set of Deans probably c. 1640 (see nos. 4, 5, 6). The portrait is possibly based on an authentic but now lost portrait of Wotton. No other likeness is known.

2. THOMAS GODWIN, 1567-1584

   By an unknown artist, 1584 ?

   This portrait and that of his successor, Rogers, (no. 3) are the work of the same primitive provincial painter. The portrait of Godwin upon which this is based and also probably by the same artist is at Christ Church, Oxford. It is virtually the same, only the left hand rests on a staff and the portrait bears the inscription giving the date, 1584, and his age, seventy-two.

3. RICHARD ROGERS, 1584-1597

   By an unknown artist, c. 1585

   Painted by the same artist as no. 2. No other portrait is known.

4. THOMAS NEVILLE, 1597-1615

   By an unknown artist, c. 1640

   One of the c. 1640 set of Deans (see nos. 1, 5, 6). Two uninspected portraits are recorded at Trinity College, Cambridge, one of them possibly the basis for this picture.

5. CHARLES FOTHERBY, 1615-1619

   By an unknown artist, c. 1640

   One of the c. 1640 set of Deans (see nos. 1, 4, 6). Inscribed with his age and the date of the year he died. As in the case of the others, probably based on a lost portrait.

6. JOHN BOYS, 1619-1625

   One of the c. 1640 set of Deans (see nos. 1, 4, 5). As in the case of no. 5, inscribed with his age and the date of the year of his death. This gives us a clue as to the date when this series might have been painted. Stylistically they cannot be later than c. 1640 and probably belong to the thirties and are the work of a local painter still working in an old-fashioned tradition. The likelihood is that they were commissioned by the Laudian High Church Dean, Isaac Bargrave.

7. ISAAC BARGRAVE, 1625-1643

After Cornelius Johnson, 1636

The original of this portrait, signed and dated 1636, is at Clare College, Cambridge, It shows him wearing ordinary day dress (see J. W. Goodison, *Connoisseur*, CXL, 1957, p.231 (I)).

The Deanery portrait seems to be a contemporary copy substituting clerical dress. Another version of the same portrait was sold at Foster's 23rd July, 1884 (133).

8. GEORGE AGLIONBY, 1643

There is no known portrait of this Dean.

9. THOMAS TURNER, 1643-1672

By an unknown artist, c. 1640-45

This portrait is very difficult to date. Turner is dressed as a Caroline divine and looks about fifty. The work is of anonymous quality by someone influenced by Cornelius Johnson and distantly by Van Dyck.

10. JOHN TILLOTSON, 1672-1689

By Mary Beale, c. 1670-80

Tillotson sat for Mary Beale at least twice (1672 and 1681). Many portraits of him by her exist. This is an early one belonging to the seventies as he is still wearing his own hair and not a wig. For an outline iconography of Tillotson see David Piper, *Catalogue of the 17th Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery*, 1963, p.346.

11. JOHN SHARP, 1689-1691

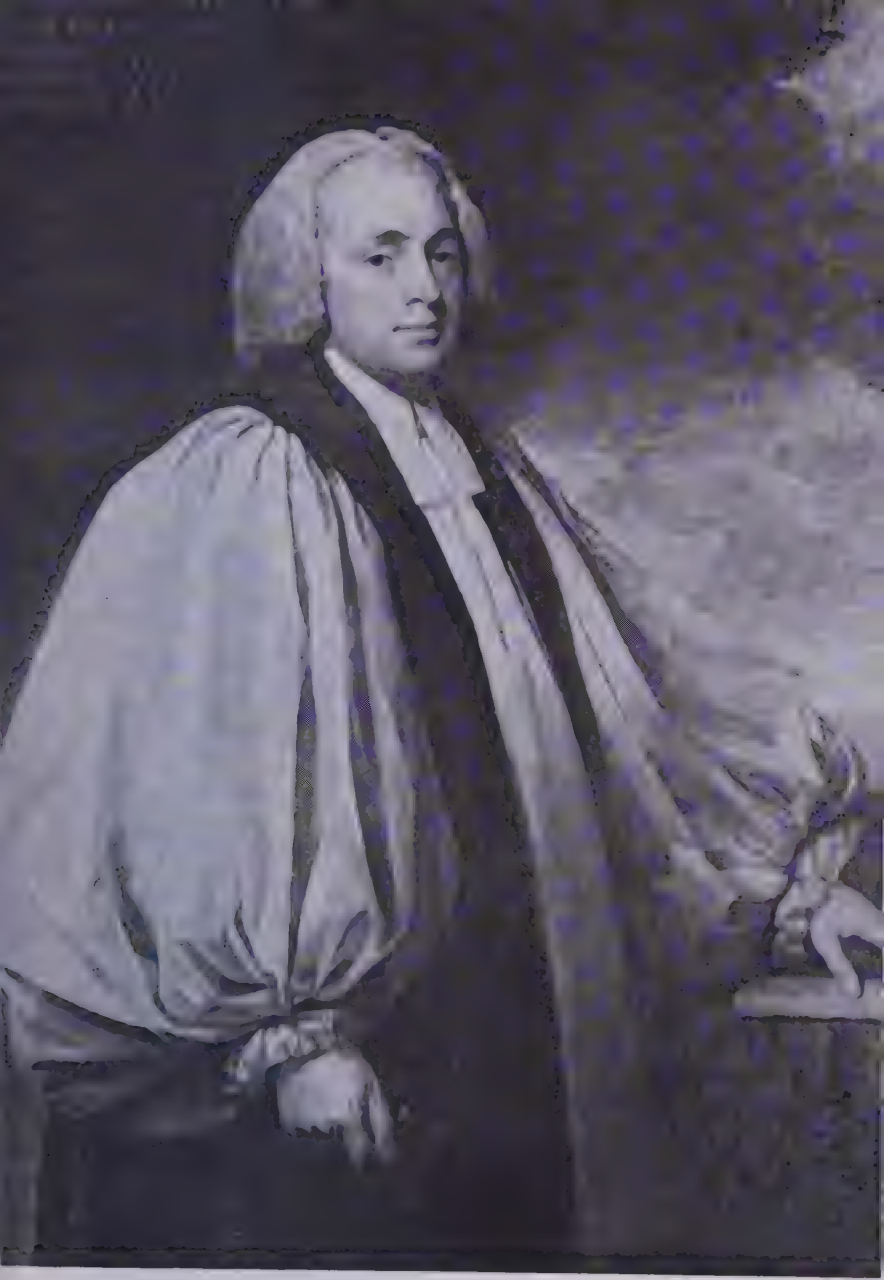
By an unknown artist, c. 1675-80

The original portrait, of which this is a repetition or copy, is in the collection of the Lloyd-Baker family of Hardwicke Court, Gloucestershire, who inherited the Sharp family portraits. In this collection there is also a double portrait of Sharp with his wife. Apart from this he was drawn and engraved by R. White.

12. GEORGE HOOPER, 1691-1704

By an unknown artist, c. 1720

There are several authentic portraits of Hooper which establish that this portrait must be misidentified. The picture depicts too young a man at too late a date : the wig is c. 1720 Authentic portraits of Hooper are at Windsor Castle, Melbury (Viscountess Galway), Christ Church, Oxford, and the Bishop's Palace, Wells.



Brownlow North by Romney

William Freind attributed to Hudson

13. GEORGE STANHOPE, 1704-1728
By an unknown artist, c. 1710
About ten years later Stanhope sat for a painter called Ellys, a portrait now known only from an engraving. A head and shoulders portrait is at Chevening, the Stanhope house.

14. ELIAS SYDALL, 1728-1733
By an unknown artist, c. 1730-40
The only recorded portrait. Its poor quality would suggest that it is a copy.

15. JOHN LYNCH, 1734-1760
After Michael Dahl, 1734
Copy of a portrait by the Swedish artist who worked in England, Michael Dahl. The original, signed and dated 1734, was sold at Christie's, 31st July, 1931 (4). The Deanery picture seems certainly to be a more or less contemporary copy. An earlier picture of Lynch is in the collection of Mrs. G. E. Blundell, Nottage Court, Glamorgan (J. Steegman, *Portraits in Welsh Houses*, 1962, II, p.107 no. 5). The Dahl portrait may have been that recorded at Lee Priory, Kent, in 1780 (*Walpole Society*, XVI, p.76).

16. WILLIAM FREIND, 1760-1766
Attributed to Thomas Hudson, c. 1760
The present dirty condition of the portrait forbids certainty about the attribution. This could on cleaning turn out to be a splendid late Hudson, painted while he was under the influence of the frenchified Scottish painter Allan Ramsay. The only other portrait is an engraving by Thomas Worlidge.

17. JOHN POTTER, 1766-1770
Attributed to Benjamin Wilson, c. 1760
Formerly attributed to Hudson, the attribution to the scientist-painter, Benjamin Wilson, is a likely one. He experimented in extreme chiaroscuro effects in imitation of Rembrandt. Due to the nature of clerical dress the portrait is difficult to date.

18. BROWNLOW NORTH, 1770-1771
By George Romney, 1776
The sittings are recorded in April and May 1776 in Romney's sitters' book (H. Ward and W. Roberts, *Romney*, 1904, II, p.11).

19. JOHN MOORE, 1771-1775
By George Romney, c. 1780 ?
The portraits by Romney of Moore are confusing. A series of sittings stretch over the years 1776 to 1790, the latter set

definitely relating to the portrait at Lambeth Palace paid for in 1792 and engraved by J. Jones the same year. In 1780 he had ten sittings, so that it is perhaps to this period that the Deanery portrait relates and another by Romney in the Episcopal Palace at Bangor (see H. Ward and W. Roberts, *Romney*, 1904, II, p. 108, who were unaware of the Deanery portrait). Other portraits of him are : by Sir Thomas Lawrence, exhib. R.A., 1794 (Southampton Art Gallery) ; by W. Hamilton, exhib. R.A., 1796 (Lambeth Palace) ; by Henry Edridge, exhib. R.A., 1804 (location unknown) ; by Dighton, 1803, and H. Ashby, exhib R.A., 1804 (location unknown).

20. JAMES CORNWALLIS, 1775-1781

By George Romney, 1795

Begun in December 1795 and delivered 1799 (H. Ward and W. Roberts, *Romney*, 1904, II, p. 34).

21. GEORGE HORNE, 1781-1790

By or after the Rev. Thomas Olive, 1793 ?

The original appears to be that at Magdalen College, Oxford, which was engraved in 1793 as after the Rev. Thomas Olive, painter-vicar of Mucking in Essex. Olive was a feeble follower of Reynolds.

22. WILLIAM BULLER, 1790-1792

By an unknown artist, 1796 ?

Another portrait is recorded (but not seen) in the Vicars Choral College, Exeter. The Deanery portrait is in the manner of Hoppner and just possibly posthumous, as he holds a piece of paper inscribed with the name of a bill he was promoting in Parliament in April 1796. He died in December.

23. FOLLIOTT HERBERT WALKER CORNEWALL, 1793-1797

By an unknown artist, c. 1800

A second version of this, probably the original, is reproduced in the *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, XIII, I, 1905, pl. XX (no. 73). Portraits are also recorded at Powis Castle, and Buxted Park. He also appears in the large House of Lords Group (1820) in the National Portrait Gallery.

24. THOMAS POWYS, 1797-1809

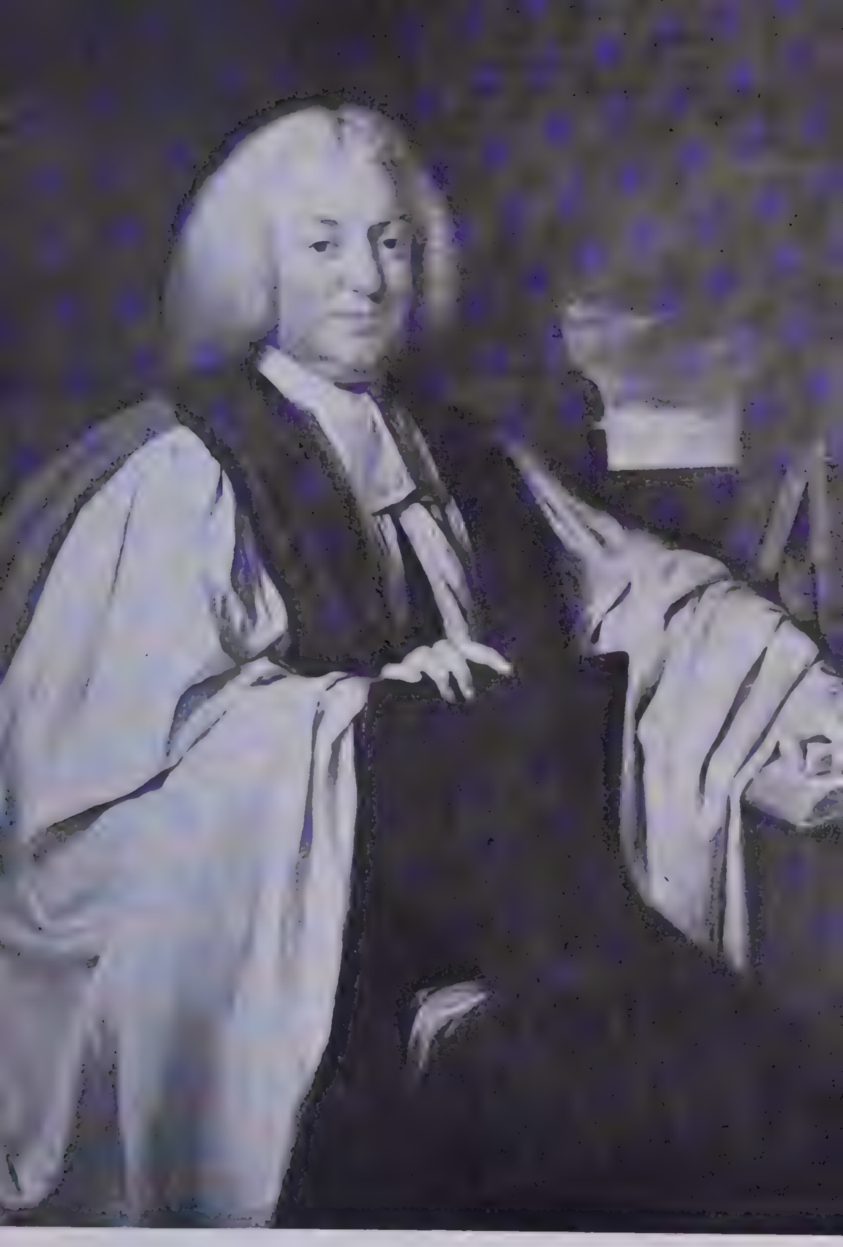
Attributed to John Hoppner, c. 1800

A drawing of Powys by George Dance dated 1793 is at St John's College, Oxford.

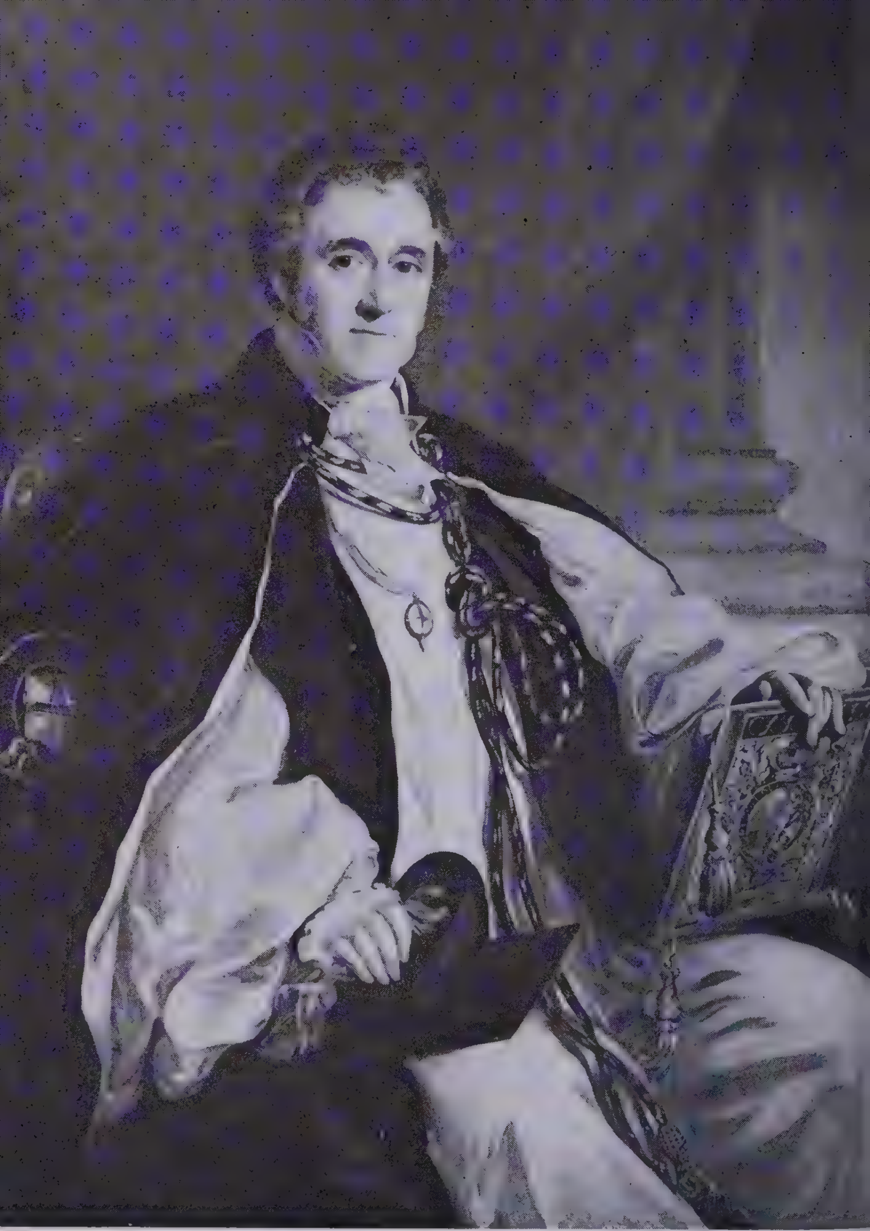
25. GERRARD ANDREWS, 1809-1825

By an unknown artist, c. 1810

Formerly attributed to Lawrence, it is definitely the work of a follower. No other portrait is known.



John Potter attributed to Wilson



Richard Bagot by Grant

26. HON. HUGH PERCY, 1825-1827

By an unknown artist, c. 1820

Formerly attributed to Opie. Percy was only twenty-three when Opie died and the hairstyle in this picture is c. 1820. Other portraits are by Thomas Phillips (L. Cust, *Eton College Portraits*, 1910, pl. XXXI) ; by R. Thorburn, 1842 and 1849 (location unknown).

27. HON. RICHARD BAGOT, 1827-1845

By Sir Francis Grant, 1846

Wearing his robes as Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Copies are recorded in the Bishop's Palace at Wells and the Bishop's Palace at Cuddesdon. All Souls College, Oxford, has a replica by H. W. Pickersgill of a portrait painted for the Bagot family.

28. WILLIAM ROWE LYALL, 1845-1857

By an unknown artist, c. 1840

The only other portrait is a lithograph by T. H. Maguire after W. Buckler, c. 1850.

29. HENRY ALFORD, 1857-1871

By Lowes Dickinson, 1861

The portrait was exhibited at the Royal Academy of that year (no. 332). Other now untraceable portraits of him were exhibited at the Academy : by R. Harrison, 1849, and by E. G. Papworth, 1861 and 1871 (a bust).

30. ROBERT PAYNE SMITH, 1871-1895

By Mathew Ridley Corbet, 1886

31. FREDERICK WILLIAM FARRAR, 1895

By H. A. Olivier, 1902

32. HENRY WACE, 1903-1924

By William Logsdail, 1912

Exhibited at the Royal Academy of that year. A full length is in the possession of the Corporation of the City of Canterbury.

BUCHANAN AND THE PLANNING OF CANTERBURY

by Kenneth Pinnock

In one sense it is futile to attempt in March 1970 to write about the Buchanan Report on traffic and planning in Canterbury. For the Report does not yet exist : there is merely an interim report, published in January, and this may or may not greatly resemble the final proposals which Buchanan and Partners will present to the City Council a month or two after this article appears.

Yet already it is possible to see that behind the confusing lattice work of detail in this draft report there are certain general ideas, some of them familiar to readers of Buchanan's writings and others perhaps new, but all of long-term importance to those who live in, or love, Canterbury. As one reads the draft, it soon becomes clear that Buchanan is concerned with something more than road patterns, traffic flows and parking. In all that he says there is implicit a question that may perhaps be phrased : What is the essential character of Canterbury, and how far is the preservation of this character compatible with the city's continuing prosperity and growth ?

A question of identity

It was this problem of preserving Canterbury's identity that lay at the root of the decision to appoint Colin Buchanan and Partners as consultants. Early in 1968 a public outcry had been roused by the City Council's plan to build a seven-storey car park of immense size within the city walls. Moreover, during the controversy it was stated that this would be only the first of a number of identical parking structures. The argument spread to the national press ; the Royal Fine Art Commission was consulted ; and eventually the Ministry of Housing and the Council came to terms : the park was to be reduced in height and a consultant, paid by the Ministry as well as the Council, was to be appointed to advise on car parking, the road system and related planning problems in Canterbury.

The explosion of public opinion occurred very late in the day, almost as the bulldozers were revving up their engines. It must be frankly admitted that if the local amenity groups had been more alert they would have raised Cain when the plans were published, not a year or more later. But however bad the timing, the question raised in numerous letters to the press and in a crowded public meeting was a vitally important one : would this and the other projected multi-storey car parks utterly and permanently alter the character of Canterbury ?

For hundreds of years travellers to Canterbury coming by road from a northerly direction have seen much the same magnificent view : the sculptured cliff of silver-grey stone rising from the centre of the valley, with the red roofs of small houses tumbled like pebbles at its foot. Moreover, on coming closer to the city, they found the Cathedral's dominance confirmed by the smallness of scale of nearly all the other non-ecclesiastical buildings. A guidebook of a century ago says " No English cathedral more completely dominates over the surrounding town than Canterbury " ; and it calls in Ruskin, Erasmus and others to prove the point. To intrude into this scene six enormously tall and massive blocks of raw concrete would entirely change the general view of the city.

Already in the years since the war great changes had taken place in the older areas of the city. The St George's end of the main street, almost obliterated during the war, was widened and rebuilt. Mercifully the one mediaeval feature that remains today, the tower of St George's church, was saved from demolition by the last-minute exertions of an Honorary Canon of the Cathedral. This part of the main street rapidly became one of the most profitable provincial shopping areas in the country. One of the major reasons for its prosperity was undoubtedly the fact that behind the shops the sites of a former school and a brewery, together with blitzed areas, were used as an immense surface car park ; and wherever else in the city space had been cleared by wartime bombing or post-war demolition (the latter surprisingly frequent), the tarmac went down and the ' P ' sign went up without delay. Canterbury became pockmarked with parks, and it was increasingly clear how necessary it was to find some other way of accommodating the vehicles of its shoppers, visitors, workers and suppliers.

The need for new thinking

Not only in regard to parking but on many aspects of planning policy, it was obvious by 1968—or earlier—that a drastic reappraisal was required. For twenty years it had been the city's declared policy to drive a wide ' relief road ' through the central area, parallel to the main street, and to encircle the city with a ' ring road ' running close to (or even in places within the line of) the old city wall. It was more and more apparent, however, that these ideas were literally antediluvean, having been conceived before anything like the present-day flood of traffic had begun to pour on to the roads.

Roads are a means, not an end : they exist because journeys have to be made. If one is planning or re-planning them it is therefore necessary to ask : what journeys ? how many ? why ? when ? Such questions when applied to Canterbury, lead irresistibly to the larger question of what Canterbury is and is to be : what size of population, what kinds of economic and social activity, what distinctive environmental features ? It is for this reason that Buchanan's draft is concerned not merely with such things as parking and road patterns, but also with planning in general.

On parking, he is definite that the multitude of surface parks must go, to be replaced by multi-level parks of considerable size—but not of the kind that aroused the great controversy of 1968. The new parks must be no more than 35-40 feet high, and six more of them (in addition to the existing one at Gravel Walk) will be needed by 1984. These buildings need to be individually designed, not bought more or less ' off the peg ' from construction firms, so that they knit into the fabric of the city. The largest, on the site of Canterbury West goods yard, would take 950 cars, and eventually this type of park would contain 3750 out of the city's total of 5800 parking spaces. Even by present-day standards this is not a very large total, but it appears that Buchanan will suggest ways of ensuring a rapid turnover.

Four proposed road patterns

It is the road patterns that occupy the bulk of the draft report ; and on these, too, public attention has tended to centre. Buchanan puts forward in some detail four alternative plans, and states the arguments for and against each. In two respects, all four are similar : they assume that a new road to Thanet parallel to the existing Sturry Road, and an A2 bypass for the city, are to be built —not in the remote future but as indispensable ingredients of any road plan for the city. The former road is a fairly familiar concept, since the Kent County Council has long planned the road up to the point where it would meet the city boundary. The A2 bypass, so often clamoured for by Canterbury on the grounds of the ever-increasing burden of traffic to and from the Continent, is urged by Buchanan on rather different grouds. By itself, he says, the flow of through traffic to and from the Channel ports is too small to warrant a bypass ; but this traffic added to the normal traffic flow would create an overload, particularly on Wincheap, Rheims Way and the Dover roads, ' creating conditions that would be entirely unacceptable from the standpoint of both traffic movement and environment'.

So much for the similarities ; what of the differences between the four alternatives ? The draft report carefully analyses each route in the light of the extent to which it satisfies certain desirable objectives. Among these are that

(1) There should be a ' hierarchy ' of town roads. The main routes should permit swift, efficient travel from one part of the town to another, and they should be arranged so that they feed to roads of lesser importance but do not connect directly with any individual buildings or even with minor roads.

(2) The central area of Canterbury should be insulated as far as possible from all through traffic. This can be achieved most satisfactorily by the division of the mediaeval core into three ' cells '—groups of streets which have internal communications but are linked externally only by the ring route or its equivalent. In pursuing this plan certain streets would be made one-way and others closed to traffic permanently or at specified times. Peaceful riverside walks, free from the incursion of noise and traffic, would be one of the features of the central area.

(3) Similarly, outside the central area, one should identify, and protect from all through traffic, ' cohesive areas '—that is, localities and districts which form natural units.

So many proposals, so many questions to consider, so many possible answers all impinging on each other. Buchanan tries to help the bemused citizen by giving *his* answers on a chart that looks something like a football pool form. For each of the four proposed road patterns this form poses 17 questions, 10 concerned with accessibility and 7 with environment—these being the two main factors that the whole inquiry is concerned to reconcile as far as possible.

This ' Evaluation Chart ' shows at a glance how poorly Buchanan rates two of the road plans, the ' Development Plan ' and the ' Southern ', for each of these gets only one ' good ' and eight ' poor ' responses to his 17 questions. The former plan is of course the twenty-year-old ' Ring Road ' idea, though with a Buchanan modification in the form of a cellular arrangement for the central area. The ' Southern ' route funnels virtually all the massive east-west traffic on to a four-lane road (part of which already exists from Wincheap Green to Broad Street) skirting the city walls and swinging westward at Military Road, then northward by a bridge across Northgate to join the new road to Thanet. Both plans involve heavy damage to the environment and much severance of ' cohesive areas '.

It seems reasonable to guess that not much more will be heard of these two road patterns. But what of the other two—the ' Northern ' and the ' Subsurface ' routes ?

As one studies these it is quickly apparent how concerned Buchanan is to provide for the needs of east-west traffic, much of it travelling on short local journeys but in total a formidable and growing volume. In submitting its ideas to Buchanan last summer the Canterbury Society proposed as a solution to this problem the making of a widely-flung loop road to the north of the city, linking Wincheap and the Sturry-Thanet route. Buchanan's ' Northern Route ' is very similar, though he introduced into his plan a new and valuable idea—a main traffic road to relieve Wincheap.

Buchanan's tunnel—and an alternative

Buchanan gives the Northern route good marks ; but the road pattern he prefers to all others is clearly his fourth alternative : the ' Sub-surface Route '. ' We have no doubt ', he says, ' that the subsurface route is the best '. This route accommodates the east-west flow by putting it underground, by means of a tunnel beginning in St. Peter's Place and ending west of Kingsmead school. The Westgate would thus become a quiet pedestrian precinct with the roar of traffic literally buried at its foot. The central area of the city would be arranged on a cellular pattern to discourage all through traffic—though one can't help wondering if cars and sightseers' coaches would be found wandering about the narrow streets, some of them coming to rest in the Precincts (since Burgate is shown as dead-end) and turning there in order to escape from the ' cell ' in which they found themselves trapped.

The sub-surface or ' tunnel ' plan (to use a term that Buchanan has *not* used) is a persuasive idea and, at an estimated cost of £2¼ million, the most expensive of the four proposals—though not unduly costly compared with, say, the £1½ million recently announced as the cost of by-passing the village of Boughton. But is it really the best solution ? At the moment not enough detail has been given for anyone to say with certainty. But it does seem doubtful whether enough thought has been given to the demolitions that would be necessary or the disruption that this great ' cut and fill ' operation would cause while it was in progress.

It may be that in the final report, however, Buchanan will give far more consideration than in the draft to yet another way of dealing with the east-west traffic. Anyone studying the map of Canterbury sees at a glance that there is already literally an east-west ' line ' in existence—the Ashford-Canterbury-Ramsgate railway line. Every local motorist has sat at St Dunstan's level crossing and watched the empty trains go by. The line is heavily subsidised by the taxpayer, and will be even more so when the collieries along its route close down. But Buchanan says that British Rail has nonetheless no intention of closing the line. To put a road above it would be visually disastrous, and to put one alongside it would mean demolishing new housing and industrial premises.

Perhaps so : but at the moment of writing there are indications that this last possibility should not be lightly dismissed. It seems quite likely that the Council will ask the consultants to devise a network embodying such a road alongside the railway. Presumably it would have to go underground to avoid bisecting St Dunstan's street—otherwise it would produce a classic example of ' severance of a cohesive area '—but it might be a better if not cheaper solution than any of the other proposals.

An experiment in public participation

The road patterns are the most tangible and hence the most arguable parts of the interim report. But they are far from being all of it, and it would be the greatest of pities if public attention were to focus solely on these, and particularly on the question of how to accommodate the east-west traffic. All these complexities are important not in themselves but—as I have tried to show—in their bearing on the great question of how, or if, Canterbury can continue to grow and prosper without losing her identity.

Because this question is a fundamental one, and because the answers given may well shape Canterbury's future for decades and perhaps centuries, Buchanan was right to invite the public to participate in the framing of his conclusions. There can be little doubt about the extent of public interest : the ‘ House Full ’ notice went up at the Marlowe Theatre when Professor Buchanan explained his draft, and local amenity societies and most of the political parties have submitted their views on the draft carefully and at some length. But whether the man and woman in the street have comprehended Buchanan is open to some doubt. It was an excellent idea to publish the draft report in full in the local press and give the public a six-week period to discuss and consider it ; but the resulting crop of letters in newspaper correspondence columns was disappointingly scanty, and one cannot help wondering if the majority of citizens will be content to let others do their thinking for them.

This is what has happened in the past, and the results are plain for all to see. Canterbury is in a mess. Anyone who doubts this should stand at the ‘ dead ’ end of Ivy Lane and look towards the jumble of second-rate buildings round the perimeter of the huge new roundabout ; he should think of what St George’s Place is and—sadly—what it once was, and of the even worse desolation just round the corner in Lower Chantry Lane. And so one could go on. Many of these horrors can be attributed directly or indirectly to the corrosive influence of traffic. The city fathers who permitted them were not lacking in devotion or public spirit : their record in the field of school building alone is surely proof of this. But they must have felt that they were bowing to the inevitable.

What Buchanan argued and in fact demonstrated in his draft report is that the threat which traffic poses to the character of the city and the quality of life of its inhabitants can be countered—*at a cost*. This cost must be counted in terms of careful forethought and a re-thinking of current policies, some loss of freedom for drivers of vehicles to move as they please, and a considerable amount of money. Some of the money ought certainly to come from the central government, which should be pressed to disgorge it on the grounds that it is needed to preserve a national heritage. But will Council and citizens be prepared not only to shoulder heavier rates but to re-think policies and perhaps to change course quite abruptly ?

Looking ahead

Only the future can tell. All that can be said is that the opportunities given by Buchanan to the public, both before and after the publication of his draft report, to let him know their views, has already led to a pretty searching re-appraisal of Canterbury’s planning policies by some organizations and individuals within the city. For a quarter of a century the prime objective of planning policies for the central area has been to maintain and enhance Canterbury’s position as a regional shopping centre. A worthy aim ; but success is now assured. What next ? The Canterbury Society’s answer, given in its submission to Buchanan and Partners last July and repeated in February in its commentary on the draft proposals, is that the future of much of the central area should be thought of in terms quite other than mass shopping : that the proper aims should be the development of specialist shopping, housing, tourist and conference facilities. And in its more recent statement the Society has added a warning as to the dangers of attempting to cram huge administrative offices into the city centre if Canterbury should become the focus of one of the new Redcliffe Maud unitary authorities.

It is not only in the central area that broader and longer views of the city's future need to be taken. From the Buchanan draft it is clear that a continuation of current planning policies would mean the destruction of Wincheap and the New Dover Road as we know them. The former, though defaced since the war by two criminally ugly filling stations, has undeniably a character of its own ; the latter gives a superbly tree-lined view of Bell Harry tower that it would be a tragedy to lose. Planning policies must extend their view to areas such as these beyond the centre. But above all it is necessary to look far ahead. Buchanan has pointed out how possible routes for new roads have quite recently been ruled out by new building. The same thing will happen again if the main road network is not planned in flexible but firm outline well in advance. It can already be seen that link roads between the main radial routes will be needed, since the present pattern is one of 'a wheel with many spokes but no rim'. Prospective lines for these roads *must* be kept free of building.

Already the appointment of the consultant can be seen to be justified on the grounds of the new clarity of focus in which Canterbury's planning problems can now be discussed. This is partly because of the new ideas that Buchanan has thrown into the arena, and partly because he has established by research certain basic facts and tendencies about which otherwise there would have been only warmly-held but debatable opinions.

Buchanan as prophet

The most interesting part of the draft report comes, as it should do, right at the end. In the course of a series of challenging questions to citizens about the Canterbury of the fture, Buchanan asks them to consider whether the city should choose *not to grow* any more. A very strange question, surely, to put to people in 1970. Growth is good, expansion inevitable : this is the current ethos. Why ask a question that hardly anyone will be prepared even to consider ? The answer may be, I suggest, that although Buchanan speaks with the fashionable vocabulary of the engineer and social scientist, he is at bottom something much more old-fashioned : a prophet—one who sees a vision of the future, who thinks he knows the way to its realization, and who in prompting people to challenge their assumptions sometimes puts questions which seem pointless today but may appear crucial tomorrow.

CONTENTS

PAGE

PATRONS, PRESIDENT AND OFFICERS OF COUNCIL ii

OUR CONTRIBUTORS 2

EDITORIAL 3

ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET—THE SAINT
by David Knowles 5

THOMAS BECKET AND THE CHURCH
by Robert Franklin 22

THOMAS BECKET AT SENS
by Jacques Leviste 32

ACROSS FRANCE IN THE STEPS OF THOMAS BECKET
by F. A. Batisse 37

ST THOMAS AT HOME AND ABROAD
by Gerald Peacocke 50

MUSIC IN HONOUR OF THOMAS BECKET
by Denis Stevens 61

MEDIEVAL ENGLISH WALL PAINTINGS OF BECKET
by J. W. Parker 67

CANTERBURY—THE PILGRIMAGE CITY
by Derek Ingram Hill 76

SOME PEOPLE AND PLACES IN CANTERBURY CONNECTED WITH THE STORY OF THOMAS BECKET
by William Urry 84

MEN OF THE WORLD
by M. St. John Parker 96

PORTRAITS OF THE DEANS OF CANTERBURY IN THE DEANERY
by Roy Strong 102

BUCHANAN AND THE PLANNING OF CANTERBURY
by Kenneth Pinnock 112

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